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JAPAN
AND
THE JAPANESE.

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VOL. II.

JAPAN

AND

THE JAPANESE:

COMPRISING

THE NARRATIVE OF A

CAPTIVITY IN JAPAN,

AND AN ACCOUNT OF

BRITISH COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH THAT COUNTRY.

BY

CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN,

OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY.

New and Revised Edition.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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NARRATIVE

OF A

CAPTIVITY IN JAPAN.

CHAPTER I.

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ON the 18th of March the new bunyo arrived, and entered on his office. His suite included our friend Teske, a member of the Japanese academy, named Adati-Sannay, and an interpreter of the Dutch language, named Baba-Sadseeroo. Teske was eager to prove that his attachment to us was undiminished. He had no

sooner landed than he hastened to visit us, even before he had seen his father or any of his relations. He brought us presents of sweetmeats,* together with the consoling information that the new bunyo had been directed to correspond with the Russians; and that orders were to be immediately transmitted to all forts and harbours, to prohibit the firing on the Russian ships.

From the account which Teske gave us, our benefactor Arrao-Madsimano-Kami appeared more generous than ever. The Japanese Government had determined not to listen to any conciliatory proposals on the part of Russia, as from all that transpired, and in particular the declaration of Leonsaimo, they could expect nothing but falsehood, fraud, and hostility.

Arrao-Madsimano-Kami had, however, questioned Leonsaimo, in the presence of the new bunyo, convicted him of prevarication in his answers, and brought him to acknowledge that all he had asserted respecting the hostile intentions of Russia towards Japan had been merely uttered at random. He represented to the members of the Japanese Government that they ought not to judge of the laws and customs of other nations by their own, and at length he prevailed on them to enter into explanations with the nearest Russian commander. He likewise strongly remonstrated against the Japanese Government prohibiting Russian ships from entering any other port than that of Nangasaky; observing that such a regulation must lead the Russians to believe that another trap was prepared for them; for how could they be convinced that the Japanese

* He never forgot to send us preserves and other dainties along with letters from the capital.

were inclined to act candidly and honourably, when they required the Russian vessels to undertake so long a voyage to settle an affair which might be decided equally well, and infinitely more promptly, in any harbour of the Kurile Islands?

The members of the government having, in answer to his representations, urged that they could not, without violating their laws, permit Russian vessels to enter any other port than Nangasaky, he made the following remarkable reply: "Since the sun, the moon, and the stars, which are the creation of the Almighty, are variable in their course, why should the Japanese laws, the work of weak mortals, be eternal and unchangeable?"* By these and other arguments he prevailed on the government to order the bunyo of Matsmai to correspond with our ships, without requiring them to sail to Nangasaky.

Though Arrao-Madsimano-Kami was no longer one of the bunyos of Matsmai, he had obtained a more important post, though the emoluments attached to his present office were somewhat less considerable, because everything was much dearer in Matsmai than in the capital, where he was in future to reside. He was now appointed governor of all the imperial palaces in the empire of Japan.

A day or two after the arrival of the new bunyo,

* Teske assured us, that no other individual in Japan would have dared to give such an answer to the government. But Arrao-Madsimano-Kami, who, on account of his superior understanding and virtuous principles, was universally known and beloved by the people, feared not to speak the truth. He was brother-in-law to the governor-general of the capital, an office which is filled only by individuals near the imperial person.

Kumaddschero informed us that the chief officer, the giunmyaku sampey, wished us to teach the academicians and the Dutch interpreter, who had arrived from the capital, the Russian language; and to give them, as far as we were able, any other instruction they might desire. I expressed my surprise, that before the new bunyo had given us an audience, or communicated the decision of the Japanese Government, we should be required to instruct persons who had been sent from the capital.

I asked Mr. Moor, through the partition which separated our apartments, what he thought of this proposal; and he made the following reply: "Until the bunyo makes us acquainted with the decision on our case, nothing shall induce me to comply with his request; but whenever he shall make that communication, I am ready to work, day and night, in giving the Japanese instructions." I proposed that we should devote an hour or two every day to instructing these men, until the Russian ships arrived: we should then perceive what were the real views of the Japanese Government respecting us, and be able to adopt measures accordingly. But Mr. Moor would listen to nothing of the kind. I was unable to guess the cause of this obstinacy; but supposed that he wished, by his present zeal, to make his former conduct be forgotten. But the mystery was soon unravelled in a different way.

Kumaddschero went away without having received any decisive answer to his message. A few days afterwards, Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where the two principal officers, in the presence of several others, informed us that they had been directed to write to the Russians, who would probably soon approach the

coasts of Japan with their ships, and to request an explanation of Chwostoff's conduct from the commander of the nearest Russian government or district. They accordingly intended to send off letters to this effect to the different harbours of the northern Japanese possessions — Kunashier, Eetooroop, Sagaleen, Atkis, and Chakodade. The translations, they observed, must be executed by Teske, Kumaddscher, and ourselves. The interpreter then explained the contents of the Japanese letter, that we might be able to state our opinion respecting the proposition it contained.

I expressed myself gratified to learn that such measures had been adopted as would probably spare much useless bloodshed, both to Russia and Japan; and I stated my conviction that our government would not fail to return a satisfactory answer. I was then informed, that in case our ships entered the ports of Matsmai or Chakodade, it was proposed to send the letter on board by one or two of our sailors. I expressed my approval of this plan, as our countrymen would thereby be convinced that we were still in existence. I, at the same time, begged to be permitted to write a few small notes, which might be sent along with the copies of the letter to the other fortified harbours, to intimate to our friends that we were all well in health. This was assented to, with the intimation that the notes must be as brief as possible; and as it would be necessary to send them to Yeddo, to receive the sanction of the government, they advised us to write them speedily. This advice I followed without delay. On my return to the place of our confinement, I immediately set about the translation of the Japanese letter, in which Mr. Moor and Alexei assisted.

About this time, two learned Japanese, viz. the acade-

mician and the interpreter of the Dutch language, paid us their first visit. We merely exchanged compliments, and they made no allusion to the object of their journey. They brought us some sweetmeats, and requested that we would give them a French dictionary, and one or two other French books.

Soon after, Mr. Moor addressed me in the following remarkable way: "You, who are the cause of our misfortune," said he, "should not be the first to go on board our ship. Andrey Ilyitsch," (meaning Mr. Chlebnikoff,) "is almost at the point of death; and therefore it would be best to send me on board the ship, accompanied by Alexei, who has been three years in imprisonment, whilst our sailors have lived only two years in Japan. But I cannot be the individual to make this request; you must therefore do so, and your fate depends upon it. If you neglect to act on this suggestion, you are lost." "How so?" I inquired. "For reasons which are well known to me," replied Mr. Moor, in an emphatic tone. I observed that the Japanese Government must be consulted before any new arrangement could be determined on; and as this would necessarily occasion loss of time, I could not think of making the application he wished for. "Then," said he, "you will repent of your error when too late."

I was at a loss to divine the meaning of these threats. On the following day, Mr. Moor again addressed me through the partition. One of the soldiers, he said, had informed him, that the Japanese intended to entrap the commander of a Russian ship, and a party of officers and sailors, equal in number to ourselves, and then to let us free, as it were, in exchange for them. This circumstance, he observed, might occasion bloodshed; he there-

fore advised me to reflect, and to permit him to go on board first, as he could render the matter more intelligible than the sailors. He would induce Captain Rikord to take care that we should all be safely given up to him. This story was too absurd to impose on any one. What soldier would have obtained knowledge of so important a secret? I coolly replied, that no credit could be given to the statement. But Moor would not suffer the affair to rest here. He shortly afterwards told me, that the Japanese intended to capture our ships, together with the whole of their crews, and then to send an embassy to Okotzk, on board of a Japanese vessel. He said he had received this intelligence from one of our attendants (the old men), and likewise from a young soldier, and insisted on being sent to Captain Rikord instead of the sailors. The falsehood of this story was palpable. I merely replied, "Heaven's will be done!" and said no more on the subject.

We had now finished translating the letter which was to be sent on board our ships. It was addressed thus: "From the Giumiyaks, the two chief commanders next to the Bunyo of Matsmai, to the commander of the Russian ships."

The contents were briefly as follow: "The Japanese, in as far as was consistent with their laws, had maintained intercourse with the Ambassador Resanoff, in Nangasaky; but, though they offered him not the least provocation, Russian ships had, without the slightest reason, commenced hostilities on the coasts of Japan. Accordingly, when the 'Diana' appeared, the Commander of Kunashier, who, of course, regarded the Russians as the enemies of his country, took seven of the crew prisoners. These men have indeed declared, that the conduct of the com-

mander of the aggressive Russian ships, was unauthorized by the government, but as prisoners, the Japanese cannot give credit to what they say; they, therefore, wish to have their account confirmed by higher authority, and this confirmation must be sent to Chakodade."

It was wished that we should translate this document with the utmost precision, and adhere as closely as possible to the literal meaning. We were required to make the words in the translation follow each other in the same order as in the original, wherever the idiom of both languages would permit of their doing so, and we were requested to pay no regard to elegance of style. This translation accordingly occupied us for the space of several days: even when we had finished it, the bunyo sent it back several times, requesting us to make corrections, which he pointed out. At length, the task being completed, we made several copies of the letter, which we put up under covers, in the European style, with Russian superscriptions. They were then sent off to the different harbours.

On the 27th of March, we were introduced to the new bunyo. He was a young man, about thirty-five years of age, handsome, and had a very pleasing expression of countenance. His suite consisted of eight individuals, as he was superior in rank to the two former bunyos. After inquiring our names and ranks, he addressed us as the other governors had formerly done, and gave us reason to hope that the business between the Japanese Government and ourselves would terminate in the way we wished. He questioned us respecting our health, and whether we were satisfied with the food with which we were supplied, and then dismissed us.

We this day overheard a conversation between Mr.

Moor and the interpreters, which caused us great uneasiness. He asked Teske to obtain for him a private interview with the bunyo, as he had something of great importance to communicate to him. Teske replied, that the bunyo would not grant an interview, unless he were first informed, through the interpreters, of the nature of the business which rendered a private conference necessary. Mr. Moor then declared, that the object of our voyage had been to make observations on the southern Kurile Islands, which are under the dominion of the Japanese; but for what reason the Russian Government had ordered me to make these observations I alone could inform them, as I never communicated my instructions to the officers. He further stated, that we had concealed various circumstances from the Japanese, and in our translations had construed many points in a way different from their real meaning, &c. On hearing this, Teske asked him whether he had lost his senses, as such declarations would, of course, prove as injurious to himself as to us. Moor replied, that he was perfectly aware of what he was doing, and that he was resolved to confess the truth. Teske observed that, even allowing he did speak truth, it was now too late, as a decision had taken place, and if satisfactory explanations were received from Russia, we should be immediately set at liberty. Mr. Moor, however, insisted on being taken before the bunyo, upon which Teske left him; entering our apartment, he told us that if Mr. Moor were not mad, he must have a very *black* heart. On the following day, Mr. Moor discoursed like one who was bereft of reason; but whether his derangement was real or feigned, Heaven only knows.

Two days afterwards, Mr. Moor having expressed a

wish to be again confined along with us, the Japanese conducted him and Alexei to our apartment.

We were now daily visited by the Dutch interpreter and the learned man, whom we have styled the academician, because he was a member of a learned society, somewhat resembling our European academies. The interpreter began to fill up and improve the Russian vocabularies: he used to refer to a French and Dutch Lexicon, for the purpose of acquiring through the French such Russian words as he did not know; he then searched for these words in a Russian Lexicon, which he had in his possession. He was about twenty-seven years of age; and as he possessed an excellent memory, and considerable knowledge of grammar, he made rapid progress in the Russian language. This induced me to attempt to compile a Russian grammar for him, as well as I could from mere recollection.

Having no books, by the help of which I could compose a complete grammar, I was forced to content myself with what I could put together from memory. I devoted more than four months to the completion of this task. In the preface I stated, that should it ever chance to fall into the hands of a Russian, or any individual who understood our language, the circumstances under which it was written must be taken into account. All the examples which I introduced bore reference to the relations between Russia and Japan, and were so contrived as to recommend the approximation and friendship of both nations. With this the Japanese were highly pleased. They eagerly set about translating my manuscript, and, though it formed a tolerably large volume, they soon accomplished the task. Teske and Baba-Sadseeroo, particularly the latter, were extremely quick in com-

prehending the rules of grammar. I besides translated into Russian some French and Dutch dialogues, which were in a French grammar, and they proved very useful to the Dutch interpreter in learning our language.

The academician employed himself in translating from the Russian a work on arithmetic, published at Petersburg for the use of public schools. It had been brought to Japan by Kodia, a Japanese whom Laxman conveyed back to his native country in 1792. In explaining the arithmetical rules, we soon observed that the academician possessed considerable knowledge of the subject, and that he only wished to be made acquainted with the Russian demonstrations. I was curious to know how far his knowledge of mathematics extended, and frequently conversed with him on matters connected with that science. But as our interpreters entertained not the slightest notion of the subject, I found it impossible to make all the inquiries I wished. I will, however, state a few circumstances, which may enable the reader to form some idea of the state of mathematical knowledge among the Japanese. The academician once asked me, whether the Russians, like the Dutch, reckoned time according to the new style. When I replied that the Russians reckoned by the old style, he requested me to explain to him the distinction between the old and new styles, and what occasioned the difference between them, which I accordingly did. He then observed, that the new mode of reckoning was by no means exact, because, after a certain number of centuries, a difference of twenty-four hours would again arise. I readily perceived that he questioned me merely to discover how far I was informed on a subject with which he was perfectly familiar. The Japanese consider the Copernican the

true system of the universe. The orbit and satellites of Uranus are known to them, but they know nothing of the planets more recently discovered.

Mr. Chlebnikoff employed himself in the calculation of logarithms, of natural sines and tangents, and other tables connected with navigation, which he completed, after incredible labour and application. When the academician was shown these tables, he immediately recognised the logarithms, and drew a figure to convince us that he was also acquainted with the nature of the sines and tangents. In order to ascertain whether the Japanese knew how to demonstrate geometrical truths, I asked whether they were perfectly convinced that in a right-angled triangle the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides? He answered in the affirmative. I then asked how they were certain of this fact, and in reply he demonstrated it very clearly. Having drawn a figure with a pair of compasses on paper, he cut out the three squares, folded the squares of the two short sides into a number of triangles, and also cut out these triangles; then laying the several triangles on the surface of the large square, he made them exactly cover and fit it.

The academician assured us that the Japanese calculate with great precision the eclipses of the sun and moon.*

* In August, 1812, an eclipse of the moon was visible in this quarter of the world. The Japanese, in their calendar, foretold the period when the eclipse would take place, and we determined to observe whether they were correct in their reckoning. At that time we were unacquainted with the degree of knowledge they possessed, and suspected that the Japanese calculations would resemble those of the Dutch astronomer, who published in the Almanac of the Cape of Good Hope that an eclipse would take place on the first night of a new moon. The poor Dutchmen gaped and stared the whole night at the sky, but saw neither the moon nor the

This is not improbable, for they have a translation of "Lalande's Astronomy," and, as I have already observed, a European astronomer resides in their capital.

Teske and Kumaddschero generally came to visit us along with the academician and the Dutch interpreter. They usually staid with us the whole forenoon, and sometimes all day. This time was not wholly devoted to scientific investigations; our visitors frequently entertained us by relating singular occurrences and interesting anecdotes. Among other things, Teske gave us an account of the examination of Leonsaimo or Gorodsee, the Japanese who had returned from Russia. This man was examined in the presence of the new bunyo and Arrao-Madsimano-Kami. On being asked how he had been treated by the Russians, he spoke with the highest praise and gratitude of the Governor of Irkutzk, the Commandant of Jakutzk, the Commandant of Okotzk harbour, of Mr. Rikord, together with all the officers of the 'Diana,' and various other individuals with whom we were acquainted; but the rest of the Russians he described as being a very worthless set.

He characterized the Russian nation as being warlike and rapacious. His countrymen in Irkutzk had shown him, on the map, the boundaries of Russia in former times, and assured him that the government had not purchased a foot of ground, but had acquired their present extent of territory by conquest. He had himself made the following observations: In Russia, should a boy find a stick in the streets, he immediately takes it up and goes

eclipse which they expected. A very different cause prevented our observing the eclipse at Japan. The heavens were completely obscured by a fog.

through the military exercise. He had, besides, frequently seen numbers of boys assemble together for the purpose of practising military exercises ; and the soldiers, wherever he saw them, were constantly under arms. From all the circumstances, he concluded that Russia was meditating a war with the Japanese, for she had no neighbours in that quarter of the world, except China and Japan. With China she maintained commercial relations, consequently all her preparations must be directed against Japan. At this latter observation both the bunyos laughed, and called him a blockhead, adding, that in Japan it was customary for boys to fence with swords, and soldiers to go through their exercise, though no war was in contemplation.

We learned from Teske, that the Japanese who was sent ashore with the letters from Captain Rikord, actually received orders from the Governor of Kunashier to carry back information that we were dead. The motive for this falsehood was as follows: the Japanese assured his countrymen that Russia would no doubt declare war against Japan, and that all her friendly representations were mere artifice. Captain Rikord had, however, stated in his letter, that he would not quit the harbour until he received a satisfactory answer ; and at the approach of our ships, all the fishermen and labouring people on the southern coast of Kunashier had fled into the garrison, so that all business was suspended. It was, therefore, with a view to put an end to this state of things, and to provoke the Russians to land for the purpose of attempting to storm the garrison, that the story of our death was fabricated. Otachi-Koeki, at that time Governor of Kunashier, was the same officer who had so frequently treated us with so much derision at Chakodade, and his personal hatred

of the Russians had probably dictated the answer sent to Captain Rikord. This answer, Teske told us, excited no displeasure on the part of the government; on the contrary, several of the ministers expressed their approbation of the conduct of Otachi-Koeki.

Teske also informed us, that his correspondence with us had involved him in considerable difficulty during his stay in the capital. The letters which were taken from Mr. Moor had been sent to Yeddo. The government required Teske to translate all the letters he had received from us, and those which he had written to us: but he was prudent enough to give a different interpretation to certain passages in which he spoke disapprovingly of his own countrymen. The officers of the government, to whose perusal these translations were submitted, asked him how he dared to correspond with foreigners, when he knew that a law existed by which that kind of intercourse was prohibited. Teske excused himself by saying, that he was not aware that such foreigners as had been made prisoners by the Japanese were included in this law; adding, that he had not corresponded with us for any improper purpose, but merely from motives of compassion. He was merely reprimanded, and admonished to be more prudent in future. The letters remained in the hands of the government, and the affair had luckily no injurious result for Teske. Both he and Kumaddscherro were afterwards promoted for their labours in translating, and acquiring the Russian language. Teske was appointed to fill the office of Shtoyagu; and Kumaddscherro that of Saydshu, or secretary.

With pain I again call attention to a circumstance, which, in the midst of our sufferings, harassed my feelings, and the recollection of which is, even now, deeply

distressing. I allude to the conduct of Mr. Moor. If I unfold his errors, it is not that I wish to dwell on the description of the agony into which he plunged me and my unfortunate companions.

After Mr. Moor was quartered along with us, he often discoursed with the guards like a person in an unsound state of mind. For instance, he assured them that he heard the officers of their government calling to him from the roof of the house, and reproaching him with having drunk the blood of the Japanese and ate their rice; that the interpreters, moreover, called to him from the streets, and came during the night secretly to consult with me and Mr. Chlebnikoff on the best means of getting rid of him.

He was, however, at certain intervals, perfectly collected, and then what he said always indicated that he had a particular object in view. On one occasion, he told Teske that he had many fine books, charts, pictures, and other objects of curiosity on board the 'Diana,' and that if the Japanese would grant him permission to go first on board, he would send valuable presents to the officers and interpreters. Teske replied, that the Japanese were not desirous of receiving presents, as in fact they stood in need of none; and that all they wanted was, that our government should send them a satisfactory explanation respecting the proceedings of the Company's ships.

Another time Mr. Moor, in the presence of the interpreters and the academician, said, that his devotion to the Japanese would ruin him, since they had refused to take him into their service, and he dared not return to Russia. "How so?" inquired the interpreters. "Because," replied he, "I have offered to enter the Japanese service; nay, even to become a servant of the governor;* this is

* This circumstance was not known to us before.

known to my companions, and must, of course, become known to the Russian Government; therefore, were I to return home, I should be condemned to the galleys." The interpreters, and Teske in particular, endeavoured to set his mind at ease. They told him, that his wish to enter the Japanese service was sufficiently excused by his situation. Teske added, that he had never mentioned to us Mr. Moor's proposal of entering the service of the governor, which he had now himself disclosed.

We, on our part, assured him that he had no reason to fear returning to Russia: our government would not judge of his offence, if even it should become known, with the severity he anticipated. But Moor was far from being satisfied. Some secrets, of which he had made a written disclosure to the Japanese, weighed upon his mind. This was what he alluded to when he spoke of his devotion to the Japanese. He endeavoured, by various means, to prove his attachment to Japan, and said that if the Japanese could see what was passing within his heart, they would place greater confidence in him.

At length the interpreters informed him, that even a Japanese, who should live for any length of time in a foreign country, would forfeit the confidence of his countrymen; "How then," said they, "can we venture to take a foreigner into our service, whatever degree of attachment he may profess towards our nation?" They further observed, that if our declarations were confirmed by the Russian Government, we should all be liberated; even if any among us might be unwilling to return, they would be forcibly carried on board our ships: but in case the expected confirmation should not be received, we must remain in confinement without being permitted to enter into the Japanese service, or even to follow

any kind of employment. The interpreters added, that if Mr. Moor had reason to dread the consequences of returning to Russia, the Japanese might sympathise in his fate, but that their laws could not be violated in his favour.

On our informing the interpreters that the apprehensions expressed by Mr. Moor were totally unfounded, they represented to him that his fears arose merely out of the disordered state of his mind; but he declared himself to be perfectly collected, and observed that the laws of Japan were severe and barbarous.

On this occasion, they explained to us the grounds on which their laws prohibit them from placing any trust in Japanese subjects who have lived in foreign countries. The great mass of mankind, said they, resemble children; they soon become weary of what they possess, and willingly give up everything for the sake of novelty. When they hear of certain things being better in foreign countries than in their own, they immediately wish to possess them, without reflecting that they might, perhaps, prove useless, or even injurious to them.

With regard to Mr. Moor's conduct, he still continued either to discourse like a madman, or to remain totally silent. He once told me, in a determined tone, that he saw only two courses which he could take: we must either request that he and Alexei might first be permitted to go on board the Russian vessels, when he would take measures to ensure our safety; if not, our refusal would compel him to adopt the only remaining alternative, which might, perhaps, prove fatal to us all—it was to inform the Japanese that the object of our voyage was to inspect their coasts, and that there was even a probability of the Russians declaring war against them. I

replied, that we were not to be intimidated by threats of this kind. We knew, from experience, the disposition of the Japanese; they would, of course, come to no speedy decision on his representation; and that, in the meanwhile, communications might take place, and all would probably terminate favourably to us. Our poor sailors entreated that he would not act so dishonourably, assuring him, that on their return to Russia, they would never divulge a syllable which might operate to his disadvantage. "I know well," replied he, "what I have to expect. I recollect that when we were in the presence of the bunyo, Schkajeff, in a threatening tone, inquired whether I entertained thoughts of returning to Russia?" The words which Schkajeff uttered on that occasion had apparently made a deep impression on his mind: he frequently alluded to them.

On my asking him what would be his feelings, were he to succeed in convincing the Japanese of the truth of his assertions, and should thereby induce them to entrap our countrymen, he made me various incoherent answers. "Even allowing," continued I, "that the Japanese should capture our vessels, the truth may sooner or later come to light, and we be sent back to Russia, what then would become of you?" "I should then only undergo the same punishment as I must be subjected to, were I to return now," replied he. I endeavoured to console him, and observed that he was not in a sufficiently collected state of mind to be responsible for his conduct.

When I asked him what rendered him so impatient to go first on board the Russian vessels, he constantly varied in his answers. Sometimes, he said, he wished to be the instrument of reconciliation between two nations, and thus to expiate his faults; then he expressed a wish

to warn our countrymen of the snares which the Japanese had laid for them, or to persuade them to send from the ships some cannon and other things as pledges for the restoration of the articles of which Chwostoff had robbed the Japanese. These singular answers sufficiently proved that he was occasionally under the influence of derangement.

Though Mr. Moor found that his menaces made no impression on us, he did not, on that account, cease to harass us. He sometimes told the interpreters what threats he had held out to us: they, however, paid no regard to this discourse, which was directly aimed at our ruin. They called him a madman; and instead of making replies consistent with his applications, referred to a physician. After some time, it was indeed found necessary to place him under the care of a physician; but no investigation was ever instituted, in order to ascertain whether he had been in his right senses at the time he uttered these expressions. This circumstance led Mr. Chlebnikoff to believe that the Japanese were practising some artifice; that they pretended to believe Mr. Moor insane, in order to throw us off our guard, and to deceive the sailors who were to be sent as messengers to our countrymen; but that their real design was to capture the Russian ships by some stratagem, after which they would probably inquire whether or not Mr. Moor had spoken truth. This suspicion, groundless as it appeared, induced me to write five notes, addressed to Captain Rikord, which the sailors and Alexei stitched within the lining of their jackets; for, as it was not known which might be sent off, it was necessary that each should have one in his possession. These notes I directed to be delivered to the commander, whoever

he might be, of the Russian ships, on board of which any of our sailors might be put by the Japanese. The distrust which Mr. Chlebnikoff entertained of the sincerity of the Japanese was certainly pushed to the extreme of improbability; still, however, it was proper to warn our countrymen, lest, by any imprudent confidence, they might be entrapped into a state of wretchedness similar to our own.

The five notes I wrote were all to the same purport, exhorting Captain Rikord, or the Russian commanding officer, to observe the utmost caution in his communications with the Japanese, and not to suffer his boats to approach within gun-shot of the garrison. I requested him not to take offence at the tardy proceedings of these people, as their laws prohibited them from doing anything with precipitancy, and obliged them to submit every affair of importance to the consideration of their government. I, moreover, stated all that Mr. Moor had disclosed to the Japanese, in order that he might be prepared to answer all the questions that would probably be put to him in the course of his examination. In conclusion, I observed that there was every reason to hope for reconciliation with the Japanese; and that, in course of time, commercial relations might probably be established between them and Russia.

Finding that all his plans proved unsuccessful, Mr. Moor seemed plunged in despair. On two or three occasions he attempted to put a period to his existence, but his designs were discovered by the guards in time to prevent their execution. It sometimes struck me that these attempts were mere artifice; for had he really intended to commit suicide, he might easily have found an opportunity to carry the dreadful design into execution

without being observed : but whatever might be the fact, the attendants began to watch him strictly ; even whilst he was asleep one always sat near him, to listen whether he continued to breathe ; and if for a moment his respiration became inaudible, the sentinel would strip down the quilt of his bed to ascertain that he was still living. They likewise watched me with much attention. This caution may be easily accounted for. Had any of our party committed suicide, not merely the guards who were near us, but likewise our surviving companions, and the soldiers stationed on the outside of the house, who had no communication with us, would have been answerable for it.

Meanwhile, Mr. Moor made every possible endeavour to prevent negotiations between the Russians and the Japanese. He advised the latter to demand, on the arrival of our ships, that their guns, and arms of every kind, should be sent ashore as pledges, to remain in the hands of the Japanese until the property which Chwostoff had robbed them of should be restored. They replied, however, that if the Emperor of Japan should be convinced that the Russian Government had no connection with the proceedings of the Company's ships, he would regard the robbery as an act of private aggression ; and moreover, that the Emperor had long since compensated the individuals, whose property was carried off by Chwostoff, for the loss they sustained.

Mr. Moor now appeared to be driven to the last extremity. He frequently refused to taste food for several days together, and all our endeavours to encourage and console him proved unavailing. For my own part, I now augured no good from all that was passing. The indifference with which the interpreters

listened to the declarations of Mr. Moor was to me unaccountable. It in no way corresponded with the curiosity natural to the Japanese, who were accustomed to make the most minute and circumstantial inquiries respecting the merest trifles. I considered the matter in every point of view, without being able to come to any fixed opinion on the subject. Did the Japanese regard Mr. Moor as a madman, on whose declarations no reliance could be placed? Did the interpreters, after the inquiry into our case should be brought to an end, and after they should be rewarded for their conduct, apprehend disagreeable consequences to themselves, if difficulties should be created by the disclosure of new and important circumstances? Or were Mr. Moor's words only apparently disregarded, that others of our countrymen might be inveigled into a snare?

Though we could not believe Teske capable of so treacherously deceiving us, yet we recollected that he might, perhaps, be only doing what he considered his duty, in fulfilling the orders of his government, which, according to the representations of the Japanese themselves, was capable of almost any atrocity. In this state of doubt and perplexity we were doomed to await the unravelling of the mystery.

On the 10th of May, the note which we had requested permission to dispatch to the different fortified harbours, to inform our friends that we were living and well, was returned from the capital. The government had approved of its contents, and consequently not a single letter could be altered. Having made five copies, and affixed our signatures to each, they were dispatched on the same day to their several destinations. This note was to the following effect :

“ We are all, both officers and seamen, and the Kurile Alexei, alive, and in Matsmai.

“ WASSILY GOLOWNIN.

“ FEODOR MOOR.”

“ May 10, 1813.”

Mr. Chlebnikoff was unable to sign the notes on account of severe illness.

The season had now returned when we daily expected to hear of the arrival of the Russian vessels. From Captain Rikord's letter, I concluded that he would sail straight to Matsmai. Every violent gale of wind made me tremble for the safety of our ships, on account of the fogs, which, in this quarter of the world, constantly accompany the east wind. Violent storms, with fog and rain, frequently arise in these ports during the months of May, June, and July, which are precisely the periods when the weather is fair and the wind moderate in the northern hemisphere. Even when at sea, I never watched the state of the weather with more exactness than I did at this time. I marked down every variation, however slight. The following memoranda may afford some notion of a Japanese summer :

During the whole of the 30th and 31st of May, and 1st of June, a violent east wind blew without intermission, accompanied by fogs and rain.

On the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th of June, the same kind of weather prevailed, and for several succeeding days it likewise continued exceedingly stormy, the wind invariably blowing from the east.

In the expectation that we should be sent on board the Russian ships, we were supplied with materials for new suits of clothes, that we might make a decent ap-

pearance in the presence of our countrymen. Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff and I, were provided with fine silken stuffs for our clothes; the sailors had the cotton cloth called momba, sent to them. Alexei had a dress made after the Japanese fashion.

At length, on the 19th of June, we were informed that a Japanese vessel, lying at anchor off a promontory in the Island of Kunashier, had observed a Russian three-masted ship sail round the Cape, and enter Kunashier harbour. The Japanese vessel immediately weighed anchor, and brought information of this event to Chakodade. On the 20th of June the arrival of the 'Diana' in Kunashier was officially confirmed, but nothing more was said on the subject.

On the following day the interpreters received orders to ask me which of the sailors I wished to send on board. To avoid showing any preference to one more than another, I determined that chance should decide the matter, and the lot happened to fall to Simanoff. I requested that the governor would permit Alexei to accompany him. To this he consented, and they received orders to prepare for their departure. On the same day Mr. Moor and I were conducted to the castle, where the two giunmyagus, in the presence of other officers, formally inquired whether we were perfectly satisfied that Alexei and Simanoff should be sent on board the 'Diana.' I replied in the affirmative; but Mr. Moor remained silent. Sampey then informed us, that he himself intended to depart for Kunashier, for the purpose of treating with Captain Rikord; he at the same time promised to bring the affair to a conclusion, and assured us that Alexei and Simanoff should experience every accommodation during their voyage. We were then dismissed.

Mr. Moor and I were again conducted to the castle on the 22nd of June, when the papers which had been sent on shore by Captain Rikord were presented to us. They consisted of two letters, the one addressed to the Commander of Kunashier, and the other to me. In the former Rikord acquainted the Japanese of his arrival and friendly intentions, together with the return of their countryman, Tachaty-Kachi, and two sailors whom he had carried off in the preceding year. Two Japanese and a Kurile had died in Kantschatka, though every endeavour had been made to save their lives.* He, besides, described Tachaty-Kachi as an intelligent and good-principled man, who would, of course, convince the Japanese of the amicable disposition of Russia, and would prevail on them to liberate us; at the same time intimating, that if they did not set us at liberty they might apprehend serious consequences. He concluded by saying that he trusted to the pacific character and generosity of the Japanese, and awaited an answer to his letter.

* A few months previous to the arrival of Captain Rikord, the relations of Tachaty-Kachi, who were much concerned for his fate, inquired of a priest in Chakodade whether Kachi would ever return to his native country. This priest pretended to possess the gift of foretelling future events. He accordingly pronounced the following prophecy: "Kachi will return in the ensuing summer, with two of his companions, the remaining two have perished in a foreign land." We were informed of this prediction, but we laughed at it, and observed, that in Europe such a prophet would be punished as an impostor. The Japanese, however, thought otherwise, and assured us that many of the former prophecies of this priest had been fulfilled. Captain Rikord's subsequent arrival of course inspired them with fresh confidence in the prophetic powers of their priest, and they triumphantly inquired whether we were not convinced that he possessed the gift of penetrating into futurity. They expressed no little astonishment when we declared our belief that the prophet's successful predictions were the effect of mere chance.

In his letter to me, Captain Rikord requested that I would return an answer, acquainting him with the state of our health, and also what was our situation in other respects. It was, therefore, evident that Mr. Rikord had written the letter before he received the papers which had been dispatched to him. This circumstance surprised us not a little, for the Japanese had informed us that the orders issued by the government required that these papers should be conveyed by Kuriles on board the first Russian ship which might appear on the coast. We were directed to take copies of both letters in presence of the officers, and in the evening we made translations of them. On the following day the originals, together with the translations, were sent off to the capital.

On the 24th of June, Sampey, Kumaddscheru, Simanoff and Alexei, sailed for Kunashier. I took every opportunity of instructing Simanoff what to communicate to the officers of the 'Diana' respecting the fortifications, military power, and tactics of the Japanese, as well as the most advantageous mode of attacking them, in case such a course should be found necessary. He seemed perfectly to understand my direction, and to be prepared to furnish his countrymen with much important information.* Previously to his departure, Simanoff informed me that Mr. Moor had directed him to request Captain Rikord to send ashore the property he had left on board the 'Diana' at the time he was made prisoner. I knew not what could be his object in making this application. I, however, ordered Simanoff to deliver the message to

* I afterwards found I had formed an erroneous opinion of Simanoff; for, before he reached the 'Diana,' he had forgotten nearly the whole of what I had said to him, and could repeat only a few unconnected fragments of my instructions.

Captain Rikord, and at the same time to request that he would not send the property on shore, as, in doing so, he might involve us in fresh difficulties. Mr. Chlebnikoff sent a note by Simanoff, in which he warned Captain Rikord not to place too much confidence in the Japanese.

We heard no accounts from Kunashier until the 2nd of June, when a short letter was brought to us, addressed by Captain Rikord to the governor of that island. It merely expressed what he had felt on receipt of the note we had written, which, he observed, fully satisfied him with respect to our safety. We were required to translate this letter, and both original and translation were immediately dispatched to Yeddo.

On the 19th of July, Mr. Moor and I were summoned to the presence of the bunyo, and shown an official letter from Captain Rikord to Takahassy-Sampey, together with a letter to me and one to Mr. Moor. In the first letter Captain Rikord thanked the Japanese for their wish to correspond with the Russians, and promised immediately to sail back to Okotzk, and to return in September, bringing with him the declaration required by the Japanese Government. Being unacquainted with the entrance of the harbour of Chakodade, he wished to put into Endermo,* which had been visited by Captain Broughton, and he requested that a skilful pilot might be sent thither to conduct the ship to Chakodade. Finally, he thanked Sampey for having permitted Simanoff to go on board the 'Diana.' His letter to me commenced with the words which we had agreed should be the token of his having received my note; he congratulated us on our approaching liberation, and promised to

* Edomo is the name which the Japanese give to this harbour.

return without fail in September. He advised Mr. Moor to be patient, and not to give way to despair, observing that his countrymen at home had had no small share of distress, difficulty and danger, to contend with.

The bunyo withdrew after having heard an explanation of these papers. We then took copies and prepared translations, which were immediately sent to Yeddo.

We were informed that the 'Diana' left Kunashier immediately after these papers were sent ashore. According to our calculation this must have been on the 10th of July. A few days afterwards Sampey, Kumaddscher, and our two companions, returned to Matsmai. The reader may perhaps conjecture what were our feelings on again beholding them.

I shall not detain the reader by a detail of the particulars stated by Simanoff respecting the conferences between the Japanese and our countrymen; as Captain Rikord's narrative, subjoined to this volume, contains a full and accurate account of all that occurred in the negociations. I shall, therefore, merely mention here what the Japanese themselves disclosed on the subject. Kumaddscher, who had been present with Sampey during the negociations, gave us reason to hope for the most favourable result; the prospect of which he ascribed entirely to the ability and prudent conduct of Captain Rikord, who had won the good-will of Tachaty-Kachi, and impressed him with an exalted idea of the honour and rectitude of the Russians. He knew not how to bestow sufficient commendation on Captain Rikord, the officers of the 'Diana,' and all the persons he had known in Kamtschatka.

He arrived at Matsmai in company with Sampey, but he was not permitted to pay us a visit, notwithstanding

the infinite gratification it would have afforded both to him and ourselves. The Japanese laws required that he should have a guard set over him. His relations and friends were allowed to see him, and to remain with him as long as they pleased, but an imperial soldier was present the whole time of their visit.

Sampey and Kumaddscherro informed us that two large Dutch ships, laden with East India goods, had arrived at Nangasaky, from Batavia. They gave us a minute description of these vessels, telling us their length, breadth, depth, burthen in tons, the number of the crew on board each, and to what nation each individual belonged. One of these vessels must have been very large, since it was upwards of one hundred and thirty feet in length, and had more than one hundred men on board. An elephant, which the Dutch had brought from the Island of Sumatra as a present for the Japanese Emperor, was described with the greatest minuteness imaginable. No circumstance was omitted, the place of his nativity, his age, length, height, thickness, the food he was accustomed to consume, and how many times in course of the day, and in what portions he was supplied with the different articles, were all carefully noted. A native of Sumatra, who was the keeper of the elephant, was described with corresponding precision.

The most important intelligence brought by the Dutch ships arrived at Nangasaky, was an account of the taking of Moscow. We were told that the Russians, in a fit of despair, had abandoned and burnt their capital, and that the whole of Russia, as far as Moscow, was under the dominion of the French. We expressed our disbelief of this story. Our doubts of its truth were unfeigned and

uninfluenced by any feeling of wounded pride. We indeed believed it possible that the enemy might have concluded a peace on terms advantageous to himself; but as to the loss of Moscow, we looked upon that statement as an invention of the Dutch, and it never cost us a moment's uneasiness.

On the 21st of August, Kumaddscherro secretly informed us, that in about five or six days we should be removed to a house which was preparing for our reception. This proved true. On the 26th we were conducted to the castle, where we found all the officers of the city in the great saloon, in which Arrao-Madsimano-Kami used formerly to receive us. The academician and the Dutch interpreter* were likewise there, seated near the officers, but on seats somewhat lower. The governor entered soon after our arrival. Having taken his seat, he drew a paper from his bosom, and with the assistance of the interpreter, intimated that it was an order relative to us, which had been transmitted to him from the capital. He read it, and desired the interpreter to translate it to us. It was to the following purport:—That if the Russian vessel, according to the promise of Captain Rikord, should return that year to Chakodade, with the explanation required by the Japanese, and if the governor should regard that explanation as satisfactory, the government authorised him to liberate us without delay. The governor then

* After their arrival at Matsmai, these two men were always present during our interviews with the officers, and whilst we were writing down our translations. We once asked Teske the reason of this, and he told us that the governor wished that they should be witnesses to his conduct, lest some one might make a false representation of it to the government, as Mamia-Rinso had done with regard to the first bunyo.

informed us, that, in conformity with these orders, we must, in the course of a few days, depart for Chakodade, whither he himself was likewise about to proceed, and that he would see us on his arrival there. He then took his leave and dismissed us, wishing us health and a safe journey.

CHAPTER II.

Farewell visits and presents—The prisoners leave Matsmai for Chakodade—Difficulty of explaining Russian words to the Japanese—Rescripts addressed to Laxman and Resanoff—Prohibition of Christianity in Japan—The governor of Kunashier arrives at Chakodade—Fires—Punishment of incendiaries—The 'Diana' enters the harbour of Edomo—Letters and presents for the bunyo of Matsmai—Curious watch—Military tactics of the Japanese—Interview between Captain Golownin and Captain Rikord—Congratulatory addresses and prayers for the safe voyage home—Departure—Golownin and his companions embark on board the bunyo's barge, and are conveyed to the 'Diana.'

ON leaving the castle we were conducted to the house we had formerly inhabited. It had undergone a great change during our absence, and was now much improved. The palisades, behind which armed soldiers were constantly stationed, gave it formerly the appearance of a prison; but these were now removed, and our guards had neither muskets, nor bows and arrows. A very neat apartment was assigned to me, a separate one to Mr. Moor and Mr. Chlebnikoff, and a third one to the sailors and Alexei. Our food was likewise superior in quality to that which we had before been accustomed to. It was served up to us in beautiful lacquered vessels, by well-dressed attendants, who treated us with every mark of respect.

We had no sooner arrived at our new residence, than several officers, with their children, came to offer us their congratulations, and to bid us farewell. Some of these persons presented us with farewell cards in the Russian language, into which the interpreters had translated them from the Japanese ; they merely contained an adieu, and expressed a wish for our safe voyage. Last of all came the head of the Merchants' Company, or chief magistrate of the city, with his two assistants ; he presented us with a box of comfits. In the countenances of all our visitors we could read an unfeigned expression of joy for our good fortune. Mr. Chlebnikoff proposed that we should address a letter of thanks to the governor, which I readily agreed to, and begged that he himself would be the writer of it. The letter was accordingly written, translated into Japanese, and forwarded to the governor, who, as our interpreters informed us, received it with the strongest emotions of sensibility.

The Japanese now began to treat us like guests rather than prisoners. When our sailors sometimes showed an inclination to drink more spirits than was consistent with temperance, their attendants were directed not to serve it out to them without my consent, and only in such quantities as I should think fit to order. They were thus taught again to look upon me as their commander, which they had not before been required to do.

As we were now convinced that the Japanese entertained the design of setting us at liberty, we wished to testify our gratitude to them as far as lay in our power. Mr. Chlebnikoff presented and explained to the academician the tables which he had prepared. I translated from the work of Libes everything relating to the latest discoveries in astronomy, and gave him the extracts,

together with my own observations upon them. We wished to make presents of all our books and other property to those individuals who had been most about us, and had manifested the greatest interest in our fate. They, however, said they could not accept them without the permission of their government, for which they promised to apply.

After the bunyo had declared that it was the intention of the Japanese government to grant us our liberty, we remained at Matsmai only three days, during which time we were liberally supplied with breakfast and dinner from the governor's kitchen, and the interpreters received orders to give us entertainments.

We departed on the morning of the 10th of August, and were conducted through the city with great ceremony. The people, who had assembled in vast multitudes in the streets, all pressed forward to bid us farewell. Though Mr. Chlebnikoff complained of such pain in his feet, that he could with difficulty stand upright, yet he was required to proceed on foot through the streets; but when we got out of the city, it was left to our own choice either to walk or to ride. Our escort consisted of an officer of the rank denominated Shtoyagu, our interpreter Teske, and his brother, eight private soldiers, our servants, together with a number of litter-bearers, grooms for the horses, &c., who were occasionally relieved. The officer treated us with great attention. Whenever we stopped to rest, he seated himself beside us, gave us part of his own tobacco, and shewed us many acts of kindness.

On arriving at the place where we passed the night, I observed to Teske that our departure from Matsmai had taken place on a day which is celebrated with great pomp in Russia; namely, the anniversary of the Saint whose

name our Emperor bears. The Japanese, without any request on our part, immediately filled out some of their best *sagi*, and we drank several glasses to the health of his Imperial Majesty. Our friends the Japanese followed our example, and repeated the words, "Long live the Emperor Alexander!" the meaning of which Teske explained to them.

In returning to Chakodade we took the same road by which we had travelled from that city to Matsmai, and we always halted in the same villages; but we now enjoyed greater freedom, and our food was of a superior quality. The Japanese, however, kept a strict watch over Mr. Moor. They were apprehensive that distress of mind might tempt him to commit suicide, for he was observed to shed tears on several occasions during our journey. When the persons of our escort enquired the cause of his affliction when all were happy around him, he replied that he felt himself unworthy of the kindness shewn him, and that his distress was occasioned by remorse. To us, however, he declared that his uneasiness arose from the deceit and treachery of the Japanese; who, he assured us, were bent on our destruction. Though Mr. Moor's suspicions were absurd, yet the sailors placed implicit faith in them, and manifested no slight degree of apprehension.

On the 2nd of September we entered Chakodade, amidst a vast throng of spectators. The residence assigned to us was an imperial building, in the vicinity of the garrison. Our apartment was separated by a gallery from a little garden. To the palisades of the gallery wooden shutters were fastened, which were close at the bottom, but open about three feet distant from the top of the gallery. The light therefore penetrated

but faintly through these apertures, and no external objects were visible. In this respect our house bore some resemblance to a prison, though it was extremely clean, and very neatly furnished. In the course of a few days, however, the shutters were at our request removed; and, besides enjoying light we had an unobstructed view of the garden. In addition to our usual repasts, we were now treated with apples, pears and sweetmeats, which according to the Japanese custom, were always served up one hour before dinner.

A short time after our arrival in Chakodade, we were visited by the governor of the city, the Ginmiyaku Kood-Simoto-Chiogero. He inquired after our health, and observed that the house was much too small for our accommodation; but as a vast number of officers were at that time in the city, and as the bunyo was likewise expected, all the best houses were engaged. He added, that the Russian vessel would, in all probability, arrive, and we should be sent back to our native country; but that if, contrary to all expectation, it did not come to Chakodade, another house would be provided for our winter residence.

In the course of a few days, the Ginmiyaku, Sampey, the academician, the Dutch interpreter, and Kumadds-chero, arrived at Chakodade by sea. The interpreter and the academician immediately paid us a visit; they afterwards spent the whole of their time in our society, remaining with us from morning till night, and they even gave orders that their meals should be sent to our house. They spared no pains to obtain all the information they could collect before the 'Diana' should arrive. The Dutch interpreter transcribed several sheets of Tatischev's French and Russian dictionary, and he

adopted the plan of translating the Russian significations of the French words into the Japanese. He thus made himself acquainted with the peculiar meaning of each word better than he could have done by any other method. To us, however, this occupation proved extremely tedious and troublesome. I shall merely state one example, by which the reader may form some notion of the difficulties we had to encounter.

Among the Russian words which the Japanese had set down in the lexicon made at Matsmai, was "dostoiny" ("worthy"), which we had translated to them by "meritorious," "respectable," &c. We never entered into critical illustrations of words, knowing that it would be no easy task to make our pupils comprehend them. When the Japanese came to the word "digne," which, in the French Russian dictionary, was unluckily exemplified by the phrase, "worthy of the gallows," they immediately concluded that the "gallows" must be some high office, or distinguished reward. Notwithstanding all the pains we took to explain the meaning of the word "gallows," the Japanese could not easily emerge from the confusion of ideas in which they were involved by the different definitions. "A meritorious, respectable man, worthy of the gallows!" was an association which they had formed in their minds, and which they repeated with amazement. We employed all our knowledge of the Japanese language, and summoned all our pantomimic powers to facilitate our explanations to the interpreters; and we were obliged to quote a number of examples in which the word "worthy" corresponded in signification with the several translations given of it, and was made to apply to very different objects. When occurrences of this kind took place (and they were by no means infrequent), the

Japanese would hang their heads on one side,* and exclaim: "Musgassi kodoba! khanakhanda musgassi kodoba!" ("a difficult language! an extremely difficult language!")

The Dutch interpreter also undertook to translate into Japanese a small Russian book, on the subject of vaccination. The volume was brought to Japan by Leonsaimo, who had received it as a present from a Russian physician.† On the other hand, the academician laboured to collect all possible information from the *Physics of Libes*.

But the office which Teske performed was to us the most interesting and important of any. He told us, by order of the bunyo, that his government entertained doubts of Laxman and Resanoff having fully understood the explanations which had been given in answer to their inquiries; for the embassy of Resanoff appeared to be altogether inconsistent with the intimation made to Laxman by the Japanese government, that a Russian ship would be admitted into Nangasaky, to treat on the subject of commercial relations. Resanoff had himself, on various occasions, manifested dissatisfaction, or rather dislike of the Japanese, and they therefore suspected that he had not received a correct translation of the papers, and consequently could not be acquainted with the nature of their laws. The government, therefore, wished that we, together with the interpreters, should make new translations into Russian, of the original rescripts addressed to Laxman and Resanoff; and that, on our

* This movement among the Japanese corresponds with the European shrug of the shoulders.

† This translation was completed before our departure.

arrival in Russia, we should transmit the translations to the government, or, if possible, to the Emperor himself. For the same purpose, the Japanese requested that we would take copies of Chwostoff's two documents to which I have before alluded.

In translating these papers, our interpreters sought to adhere as closely as possible to the literal sense; we likewise were no less desirous of becoming acquainted with the peculiar idioms of the Japanese language, and of obtaining a correct translation of these interesting and important documents. We therefore paid no attention to style, and deviated as little from the original as the spirit of our own language would admit. On my return to Russia I laid these papers before the government.

Our interpreters also gave us a complete history of the negotiations between the Japanese and Laxman and Resanoff. The rescript delivered to Laxman evidently proves that the Japanese were not very well satisfied with his conduct; nevertheless, he succeeded in his mission, and obtained an authority for sending an envoy to Nangasaky, for the purpose of further communications. This permission shows, beyond a doubt, that the Japanese government was, at that time, willing to enter into a commercial intercourse with Russia.

With the assistance of the interpreters we now proceeded to translate the paper which was to be delivered with us on board Captain Rikord's ship. It was to the following purport:

“TRANSLATION.

“NOTIFICATION.

“From the Ginmiyaks, the chief commanders next to the bunyo of Matsmai.

“Twenty-two years ago a Russian vessel arrived at Matsmai, and eleven years ago another came to Nangasaky. Though the laws of our country were, on both these occasions, minutely explained, yet we are of opinion that we have not been clearly understood on your part, owing to the great dissimilarity between our language and writing.* However, as we have now detained you, it will be easy to give you an explanation of these matters. When you return to Russia, communicate to the commanders of the coasts of Kamtschatka, Okotzk and others, the declaration of our bunyo,† which will acquaint them with the nature of the Japanese laws with respect to the arrival of foreign ships, and prevent a repetition of similar transgressions on your part.

“In our country the Christian religion is strictly prohibited, and European vessels are not suffered to enter any Japanese harbour, except Nangasaky. This law does not extend to Russian vessels only. It has not this year been enforced in Kunashier, because we wished to communicate with your countrymen, and orders have been issued to prevent firing against the vessel which is expected; but all that may subsequently present themselves will be driven back by cannon-balls. Bear in mind this declaration, that you cannot complain, if at any future period

* On translating this passage Teske laughed, and candidly avowed that it was a mere artifice, to furnish the Japanese government with some pretence for liberating us without a violation of their laws. There was no ground for supposing that Laxman and Resanoff had misunderstood anything that was stated to them. Teske assured us, that his countrymen were complete adepts in managing affairs of this kind, and that they never scrupled at any diplomatic equivocation.

† A paper which was to be given to Captain Rikord.

you should experience a misfortune in consequence of your disregard of it.

“Among us there exists this law : ‘ If any European, residing in Japan, shall attempt to teach our people the Christian faith, he shall undergo a severe punishment, and shall not be restored to his native country.’ As you, however, have not attempted so to do, you will be permitted to return home. Think well on this.

“About eight years ago, and three years previous to the arrival of the Russian vessel at our Kurile islands, Rashuauers* were repeatedly sent from the islands under your dominion to inspect our islands. Although we were aware of their real intentions, yet we took pity on the Rashuauers, who were compelled blindly to obey the commands of the Russians, and on two occasions we suffered them to depart. But should any of them again return, in defiance of our prohibition, they will be seized and condemned to undergo a legal chastisement. Bear this likewise in recollection.

“Our countrymen wish to carry on no commerce with foreign lands ; for we know no want of necessary things. Though foreigners are permitted to trade to Nangasaky, even to that harbour only those are admitted with whom we have for a long period maintained relations, and we do not trade with them for the sake of gain, but for other important objects.† From the repeated solicitations which you have hitherto made to us, you evidently imagine that the customs of our country resemble those of your own ;

* Meaning our Kuriles, because they came from the island of Rashaua.

† To procure various medicinal roots, which do not grow in Japan, and to be informed of the events passing in other nations, are two of the important objects here alluded to.

but you are very wrong in thinking so. In future, therefore, it will be better to say no more about commercial connexion.

“TAKAHASSY-SAMPEI, (L. S.)

“KOOD-SIMOTO-CHIOGORO, (L.S.)”

“Bunkwa, the 26th day of the 9th month

“of the 10th year.”

(The seals of both these officers were affixed to the original document.*)

“Translated by

“MURAKAMI-TESTE,

“WECHARA-KUMADDSCHERO.”

When the translation was completed, Teske, by order of his superiors, observed to us that we must not, from the contents of this paper, infer that the Japanese entertained so great an abhorrence of the Christian faith as to regard all who acknowledged it as wicked and contemptible. “On the contrary,” added he, “we know there are good and bad people in every country, and of all religions: the good are entitled to our love and respect, to whatever faith they may belong; but the bad we hate and despise.” Teske, besides, reminded us that the strict prohibition of Christianity, by the Japanese laws, was solely attributable to the mischievous civil wars which had arisen in Japan after its introduction.

* Every Japanese carries a seal about him, which he frequently substitutes for his signature. For instance, when a person in military service reads the orders of his superior officer, which are usually written on long sheets of paper, he is required to affix his seal to them, and he cannot afterwards plead ignorance as his excuse for disobeying them.

The Schrabiyagu Otachi-Koeki about this time arrived at Chakodade. He was governor of Kunashier during both the periods at which Captain Rikord visited that island. On his arrival, he immediately came to see us, and we observed a marked change in his behaviour; for he now treated us with great affability and politeness, made inquiries respecting our health, and wished us a speedy and safe return to Russia. We were informed by Teske that the answer this officer gave to Captain Rikord in the preceding autumn, when he declared that we were all dead, was really contrived with a hostile view; but that, on the last arrival of the Russian vessel, Otachi-Koeki had endeavoured to make amends for his former misconduct. It appeared that the fortress of Kunashier was garrisoned by troops belonging to the Prince of Nambu. The commander of these troops, though a person of distinction, and an older man than Otachi-Koeki, was his inferior in command, because the latter governed the island on the part of the emperor. The intention of the Japanese government to treat with the Russians had been communicated to the Nambu chief, but he had received no instructions on the subject from his own prince. On the appearance of the 'Diana' he therefore made preparations for firing upon her, in conformity with his former orders. This decree was, however, opposed by Otachi-Koeki,* and the officer who was joined with him in the commission for treating with the Russians. They placed themselves before the cannon,

* Otachi-Koeki had requested that a colleague of equal rank with himself might be joined with him in this negotiation, in order that they might deliberate together on unexpected occurrences which required a prompt decision, and that the responsibility might rest on two persons instead of one.

and declared that if the Nambu chief had formed a determination to attack the Russians, he must first fire on them, and all the Japanese in the imperial service; for that, as long as they lived, they would, at every hazard, prevent him from executing his purpose. The obstinate Nambu leader was thus brought to comply with the wishes of the imperial government. We asked Teske how the emperor would regard this refractory conduct on the part of the commandant of the garrison. "The conduct of the commandant," replied he, "must be decided upon by the Prince of Nambu. The Emperor will merely inquire why his orders were not earlier dispatched."

The two first weeks of September passed away, and we heard no tidings of the 'Diana.' We feared that her departure had been delayed; and that, during the late season of the year, she had encountered some accident in her dangerous passage. We, therefore, hoped that Captain Rikord had postponed his voyage until the following spring, and we would willingly, on that account, have remained eight or nine months longer in captivity. But Captain Rikord's courage and zeal prompted him to use the utmost dispatch.

On the night of the 16th of September our interpreters surprised us with the agreeable tidings that a large European three-masted ship had been seen near Cape Ermio, forming the western side of the bay,* on which is situated the harbour of Endermo or Edomo, which Captain Rikord wished to enter, in order to obtain a pilot. No doubt was entertained of the vessel being the 'Diana.' We had,

* Captain Broughton gave to this place the name of Vulcan's Bay, from the volcano which is in its neighbourhood.

however, to lament that continual western winds detained her at sea near these dangerous coasts. The interpreters further informed us, that on the vessel being observed, a courier had been sent off to the bunyo, who, it was expected, would immediately proceed to Chakodade.

We heard no more of the 'Diana' until the evening of the 21st of September, when we were informed that she had been seen that day at noon, near the east side of Vulcan's Bay, endeavouring to enter the harbour of Edomo.

Meanwhile a vast number of officers and soldiers arrived from all places in the vicinity of Chakodade, and curiosity induced them continually to come to see us. On seeing so many strange visitors, and recollecting that, during our journey to Chakodade, we had observed new batteries and barracks erected along the bay and the coasts, I began to suspect that the Japanese intended by some stratagem to capture the 'Diana,' in revenge for Captain Rikord having seized one of their vessels and several men, on which occasion nine of their countrymen were drowned. In the course of the communication with Captain Rikord, this affair had never even been mentioned: a circumstance which served to strengthen my suspicions. I asked Teske for what reason so considerable a number of soldiers had assembled in Chakodade, and what was intended by the numerous preparations we had observed. He replied, that there was a Japanese law which required that measures of the strictest precaution should be adopted whenever their coasts were visited by foreign vessels. "When Resanoff was at Nangasaky," said he, "a far greater number of soldiers were assembled, and many more batteries erected: there are fewer troops

here on account of the difficulty experienced in collecting them." He smiled at my suspicions, and assured me that we had nothing to fear on the part of the Japanese.

On the 24th of September, the interpreters informed us that the 'Diana' had arrived in Edomo. They showed us a letter, addressed by Captain Rikord to the official persons in that town, which had been written in the Japanese language by an interpreter named Kisseleff, and the contents of which Teske explained to us. One of the Japanese sailors, whom Captain Rikord had conveyed home in the spring, had been sent to him as a pilot; and he requested in his letter that a more intelligent man, and, if possible, Tachatay-Kachi, on whom he could place reliance, might be put on board the 'Diana.' Captain Rikord also intimated that he stood in need of a supply of fresh water, and begged that his letters might be answered in the common, and not in the high language, as the interpreter Kisseleff could read only the former.

Teske and Kumaddscherro told us that orders had been immediately issued for supplying the 'Diana' not only with water, but with provisions of every kind, as far as they could be procured in Edomo. With regard to Captain Rikord's request, that his letters might be answered in the common language, they observed that papers in that language could be signed only by inferior officers, and that, if the answers should contain anything important, they would require the signatures of individuals of higher rank; for, according to their laws, no person of distinction could sign official papers written in the vulgar tongue; consequently his wish in this respect could not be complied with. As to his appli-

cation for Tachatay-Kachi, he could not be sent on board as a pilot, without the consent of the bunyo, and some days must therefore elapse before the regular permission could be obtained. As, however, the Japanese authorities were well assured of the competency of the sailor who had been sent on board the 'Diana,' Captain Rikord might safely rely on him until his ship came within sight of Chakodade, when Tachatay-Kachi should be immediately sent on board. For this purpose regular signals were prepared, which communicated from a hill to the boat in which Kachi was to sail to the 'Diana.'

It was wished that I should clearly explain to Captain Rikord all these arrangements. I agreed to do so; and at the conclusion of my letter observed, that I wrote to him in compliance with the request of the Japanese authorities, as they wished me to assure him that he had no reason to apprehend danger on entering Chakodade; but this I could not resolve to do, lest I should become the instrument of the ruin of my countrymen, if the Japanese entertained any treacherous design. When I remarked that the Japanese might, by proceeding with candour and sincerity, convince Captain Rikord that he had nothing to fear, the interpreters made no observation on that subject, but expressed themselves satisfied with what I had written. I was informed that my letter had been forwarded to Captain Rikord.

On the night of the 27th of September, a fire broke out in a magazine belonging to a merchant,* at no great

* During the spring two warehouses filled with goods, and in the course of the summer a house, all belonging to the same merchant, were burnt down. There was every reason to suspect that they were wilfully set on fire, but the perpetrators of the crime could not be discovered.

distance from the house in which we lived. Great alarm was excited in the city, the cause of which our attendants immediately explained to us; and they began to make preparations, in case our removal should have been found necessary. However, the interpreter and Sampey soon came to assure us that measures had been adopted to prevent the flames from communicating to our house. They then left us, and the fire was extinguished in the course of a few hours, but the magazine in which it first broke out was reduced to ashes. In cases of fire, the Japanese, both officers and soldiers, wear a particular dress, which we had now an opportunity of seeing. It exactly resembles their military uniform, consisting of coats of mail; but the whole is composed of light varnished leather, so that this armour is not burthen-some to the wearer, and cannot be injured by sparks issuing from the fire. On the coat of mail the rank and office of the wearer are described.

To extinguish a fire is regarded a glorious achievement among the Japanese. When a fire breaks out in the capital, where there are numerous corps of troops, the commander who first proceeds to extinguish it fixes his standard near the spot, and it is deemed exceedingly offensive if another officer should lend his assistance, without being invited by the individual who has by his early arrival obtained possession of the ground. In former times, occurrences of this nature frequently gave rise to duels between the princes and grandees, and sometimes battles, in which their respective adherents

The interpreters informed us that occurrences of this kind were by no means unfrequent, although incendiaries are, by the laws of Japan, condemned to a most severe punishment.

engaged. Even now, serious contentions often arise, when one officer shows an inclination to deprive another of the honour of having extinguished a fire.

On the morning of the 27th of September, the bunyo arrived, and in the evening the 'Diana' approached the harbour. In fulfilment of the promise made by the Japanese, Tachatay-Kachi was immediately sent on board, in company with the commander of the port,* as the latter was better acquainted with the dangers of that part of the coast. Night having already set in, the 'Diana' brought up in safe anchoring ground at the mouth of the harbour. This we learned from the commander of the port, who returned on shore the same night.

Though the wind was unfavourable, to the astonishment of the Japanese, the ship came into the harbour on the following day. From the window of a little apartment, in which our bath stood, we saw her working in. The bay was covered with boats, and every elevated spot in the city was crowded with spectators, who were filled with amazement on seeing so large a vessel making progress on every tack against the wind. The Japanese who were allowed access to us came every moment to express their wonder at the 'Diana's' numerous sails, and the rapidity with which she advanced.

A few hours after she cast anchor, Teske and Kumadschero, the academician, and the Dutch interpreter, appeared with a paper, which Tachatay-Kachi had received from Captain Rikord, and had conveyed ashore. This paper, which was by the bunyo's order brought

* An office which corresponds with that of our harbour-master.

to us for translation, was an answer from the commander of the Okotzk district to the demand of the two officers next in rank to the bunyo. The document clearly explained that the proceedings of Chwostoff were quite unauthorized by our Government; that the Emperor of Russia had always been favourably disposed towards Japan, and that he had never entertained a design to injure the subjects of that empire. He accordingly advised the Japanese to prove, by our speedy liberation, their friendly disposition towards Russia. He added, that every delay on their part must be attended with injurious consequences to the Japanese commerce and fisheries, as the inhabitants of the coasts would be severely harassed by the Russian vessels, in case further visits to Japan, on account of this affair, should be necessary.

The Japanese authorities expressed themselves highly pleased with the contents of this letter, and intimated that the explanations it contained were sufficient to produce a thorough conviction that Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian Government: they, therefore, congratulated us on the prospect of our speedy liberation and return to our native country.

With regret I must now recur to a melancholy subject. From the day on which the 'Diana' had first been discovered off the coast of Japan, Mr. Moor had appeared unusually melancholy and thoughtful. As he had no longer any hope of remaining in Japan, he resolved, if possible, to prevent the communications which were about to take place. He began by observing, that the letter of Mr. Minitzky, the commander of Okotzk, was rude and uncivil, and that it contained a threat, in declaring that the Russian vessels would injure the trade of Japan and

the people who inhabited its coasts. But he admitted that these were merely empty words. The interpreters, with some degree of dissatisfaction, replied, that the Japanese were not fools, but were well aware of the mischief which might be effected by Russian ships on their coasts, in case of war, and that they, moreover, thought Mr. Minitzky's letter extremely reasonable. We were much consoled by this declaration, on a subject which was to us of such weighty importance; but all our prayers and entreaties made no impression on Mr. Moor.

The interpreters informed us that Captain Rikord was the bearer of a letter and several presents from the civil governor of Irkutsk to the bunyo of Matsmai, and that he had expressed a wish to deliver them with his own hands.

A day was to be appointed for Captain Rikord's coming ashore, as it was stated that the Japanese authorities did not dare to meet him in boats, for the purpose of communicating with him. This circumstance rendered some of my companions a little uneasy. "What can be meant," said they, "by wishing that another of our commanders should come ashore, when they have already made one the victim of their treachery?"

We looked forward with anxiety and fear for the 30th of September, the day on which it was determined that Captain Rikord should deliver the letter and presents for the bunyo.

On the day on which this ceremony was to take place, the Japanese brought us some wretchedly executed portraits of the Russian officers and sailors, which had been sketched as they came ashore. They observed, that the interpreter had a Japanese countenance, and that he must

certainly be a native of Japan in a Russian dress. We, on our part, knew nothing respecting Kisseleff. When our interpreters explained to us Captain Rikord's letter from Edomo, which was written in Japanese by Kisseleff, they inquired who he was. We conjectured that he was a native of Irkutsk, and that he might have learned the language from the Japanese who lived there.

The conference between Captain Rikord and the authorities being ended, the interpreters came to inform us that we might, if we pleased, ascend to the second story of our house to see Rikord depart. We saw the governor's state boat sailing under three flags* from the shore to the 'Diana;' but owing to the great distance, we could not recognise the individuals on board of it.

We had no sooner returned to our apartments, than a letter was brought to us. This letter had been delivered by Captain Rikord, and we were required to make a translation of it. It had been written by the civil Governor of Irkutsk, on Captain Rikord's first report, and consequently before he could have been made acquainted with the contents of the Japanese document, which was afterwards sent on board the 'Diana.' The governor began by representing the object of our voyage, and the treacherous conduct of the Japanese at Kunashier; he then declared that Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian Government, and entreated the Governor of Matsmai to grant us our immediate freedom, or to negotiate on that subject with Captain Rikord, his plenipotentiary. If, however, neither of these requests could be complied with, without the consent of the

* The three flags were the Japanese standard, the Russian war-flag, and the white flag of peace.

Japanese Government, he was requested to state when, and to what place the vessel should proceed, to obtain an answer. He mentioned the presents, consisting of a gold watch and some red cassimir, which he sent to the Governor of Matsmai, as tokens of his neighbourly friendship. He besides stated that Captain Rikord was the bearer of a letter of thanks, which he was directed to deliver whenever our freedom might be granted. Finally, he expressed his hope of obtaining an answer corresponding with his demand; on failure of which, he should be compelled reluctantly to conclude that Japan was hostilely disposed towards Russia, and must lay before his Emperor a declaration to that effect. His Imperial Majesty would then consider himself bound to employ a force corresponding with his power, and to obtain satisfaction by an appeal to arms, though by such measures the empire of Japan might be shaken to its very foundation.

When the translation was finished, the interpreters carried it to the bunyo; but in a short time brought it back, for the purpose of obtaining some explanations which were deemed necessary. They praised the general tenor of the letter, and expressed their dissatisfaction at two passages only. The Japanese were astonished the letter should speak of the faithless conduct practised towards us, and describe it as an arbitrary measure of the Commandant of Kunashier, unsanctioned by the Emperor of Japan, since they had, by their communications, avowed that we were taken prisoners by order of the government. But their pride was chiefly wounded by the observation, that Japan would be shaken to its foundation. They insisted on being made acquainted with the precise meaning of this sentence. I first wished to

explain to them by examples what was meant by the employment of a force corresponding with a person's power. "Suppose," said I, "that I were to throw a feather at an individual with whom I was offended, I should not then use a force corresponding with my power; but if I threw a heavy stone with violence, I should then use a corresponding force." In the same manner, the two attacks made by Chwostoff in no way correspond with the power of Russia, and his two ships, in comparison with our empire, are not equal to a feather in my hand." In order to make them understand the phrase "shaken to its foundation," I shook Teske several times by the shoulders.

At first, the Japanese seemed offended at our entertaining so mean an opinion of the strength of their country, and asked with ill-humour how our Emperor could hope to shake Japan in that way. I replied that the letter alluded to the people of Japan, and not to the territory; "and you must surely be convinced," added I, "that if Russia chose to declare war against Japan, and to fit out a force, she might easily effect the destruction of your empire."

To set them at ease with regard to the threats which had so irritated them, I observed, as it were accidentally, that the Governor of Irkutsk had written his letter before he knew anything of the papers left behind by Chwostoff, the false declaration of the Kuriles, or the wish of the Japanese Government to correspond with Russia. I added, that the governor would not have so expressed himself, had he been convinced of the readiness of the Japanese to adjust all their past differences with Russia. This answer seemed to be fully satisfactory.

Mr. Moor, nevertheless, declared that the letter of

the Governor of Irkutzk was couched in arrogant and insulting terms, and that the presents he had sent were almost too insignificant to be offered to the meanest individual. It fortunately happened that these presents had, some time previously, been conveyed on shore. The watch was shown to us: it contained a curious piece of mechanism, which excited the astonishment of the Japanese, and they were totally unable to comprehend it. On touching a particular spring, a horse appeared drinking in a stream of water, and occasionally raising and lowering his head. On seeing this, Mr. Moor himself confessed that the present was not so trifling as he had supposed. The Japanese declared, that they had never before heard of so wonderful a work of art.

When we had explained the governor's letter, the interpreters proposed that I should write to Captain Rikord, and request that he would send on shore the letter of thanks which had been entrusted to him. I, however, stated, that this could not be done, as Rikord had been directed not to deliver the letter until our liberation should take place. The interpreters acknowledged the justice of this objection, and said nothing more on the subject.

In the meanwhile, Tachatay-Kachi, who had been sent to communicate personally with Captain Rikord, brought to his countrymen intelligence of the French having taken Moscow, and burnt it to ashes; and of their having afterwards retreated from Russia with a prodigious loss. This news greatly astonished us, and we felt very anxious to know every particular relating to these events. With the consent of the Japanese, I wrote a note to Captain Rikord to request that he would send me all the newspapers that might happen to be

on board the sloop. On the following day, the interpreter brought to me the Military Gazette, and several letters from my friends and relations in Russia. I immediately declined breaking open any of the letters which were addressed to me, and requested Teske to enclose them in a packet, and send them back to the 'Diana.' The interpreter praised my determination, and promised to make known my wish to the bunyo. I was well aware that, had I broken open these letters, I must immediately have made copies and translations of them, to be forwarded to the capital. The interpreter soon after informed me that the letters could not be sent back to the ship until we were set at liberty; but that they had been sealed up in a packet, which they would deliver to me, and which I might carry on board with me at my departure. I readily agreed to this proposal.

We perused the journals with the utmost impatience. They contained an account of all the events which had taken place from the French invasion of Russia to the death of the Prince of Smolensko. The Japanese were almost as anxious as we to know by what means affairs had taken so surprising a turn in so short a period; and they requested that we would give them a translated narrative of the most remarkable events of the campaign. When we informed them that the French had been obliged to fight their way out of Moscow, in which they were blocked up, and that almost their whole army had been destroyed in Russia, they clapped their hands, and declared that the Prince of Smolensko Kutosoff had manœuvred in the true Japanese style; one of their principal maxims of war being to allure the enemy as far as possible into the interior of their country, and then to surround him on every side with

powerful forces. We smiled at this comparison, and jokingly observed to each other, that the vanity of the Japanese might perhaps induce them to believe that Kutosoff had studied tactics in the books of which Chwostoff had plundered them.

Tachatay-Kachi was permitted to visit us for the first time, on the 3rd of October. He came, accompanied by the interpreters, on his return from the 'Diana.' This venerable old man was unable to express himself in the Russian language; but, with the assistance of the interpreters, he succeeded in making us understand him in Japanese. He spoke in terms of the highest praise and gratitude of Captain Rikord, the officers and crew of the 'Diana,' and of all the Russians whom he had known in Kamtschatka. We asked him many questions concerning Russia, but he could not satisfy our curiosity, owing to his ignorance of the subjects which most excited our interest.

At length, the interpreters received orders to inform us that the bunyo considered the paper brought by Captain Rikord perfectly satisfactory, and that he had resolved to liberate us. Before my departure, he, however, wished that I should hold a conference with Captain Rikord on shore, in order that, being acquainted with the Japanese laws, knowing the strictness with which they were enforced, and in some measure familiar with the customs of the country, I might personally make the following communication to my friend. First, that though the Japanese did not cherish the least hostility towards the Russians, yet the bunyo of Matsmai could not accept of the presents which had been sent to him. If he accepted them, he would be bound to make some recompence for them; but intercourse of that kind

was wholly prohibited by the laws of Japan. It was, therefore, hoped that we would not take offence at the presents being returned. Secondly, that the letter from the commandant of the circle of Okotzk was a satisfactory answer to the demand for explanation transmitted that year by Captain Rikord, therefore, the said letter would be the only paper mentioned in the written declaration which the bunyo intended should be delivered to Captain Rikord. Thirdly, that, as affairs, doubtless, stood in the state in which it was represented in the letter of the Commandant of Okotzk, the Bunyo of Matsmai could not answer the Governor of Irkutsk, as the latter was ignorant of many circumstances relative to Chwostoff, and had not been apprized of the intention of the Japanese Government to correspond with Russia on that subject. Fourthly, the Japanese requested that Mr. Rikord would address a letter to the two officers next in command to the bunyo, to assure them that the Governor of Irkutsk knew nothing of the documents left behind by Chwostoff, the false statements of the Kuriles, nor the intentions of the Japanese Government at the time he wrote his letter. Fifthly, and lastly, that Captain Rikord should pledge himself to a perfect understanding of the Russian translation of the declaration to be delivered in the name of the Bunyo of Matsmai, and promise to lay it before our government on his return; and, to enable him to give this pledge, I was to be furnished with a copy of the declaration, which I was to shew to him on our conference.

The 5th of October was the day appointed for my interview with Captain Rikord. The Japanese authority proposed that Mr. Moor should be present; but this, to their astonishment, he declined. Mr. Chlebnikoff wished

to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing his countrymen and companions, but it was thought that, considering Mr. Moor's disordered state of mind, it would not be prudent to leave him alone.

On the morning of the 5th, one of the interpreters brought my hat and the other my sword, which they presented to me with demonstrations of great respect, at the same time sincerely congratulating me. In compliance with the wish of the Japanese, I dressed myself in a rich silken jacket and loose trowsers, which had been made in Chakodade for the occasion.* The sword and cocked hat was calculated to add to the singularity of this costume in the eyes of the Europeans; but the inconsistency was not so obvious to the Japanese. As, however, the restoration of our swords indicated that they no longer regarded us as prisoners, I readily acceded to their wishes, and resolved to appear before my companions in a dress in which, had they not been prepared for the meeting, they might have found it difficult to recognise me.

The place fixed upon for my interview with Captain

* When the Japanese first expressed their intention of making this sort of state-dress for us, they brought for our inspection several pieces of rich silk stuff, resembling damask. The pieces were of different colours, and each lay in a separate box. They desired that we should each select the colour we liked best, but we insisted on leaving the choice to them, and declared that the colour was quite a matter of indifference to us. It was, however, insisted that we should choose for ourselves, since orders to that effect had been transmitted from the capital. I pointed to the box which happened to stand nearest to me, and my companions did the same. The Japanese then opened the rest of the boxes, showed us every piece of silk, and observed that they had received orders from the government to make our garments of the best materials, which were only to be procured in Matsmai.

Rikord, was an apartment in the custom-house, which was situated near the shore. The three interpreters, the academician, and a few of the inferior officers, were ordered to be present as witnesses. At mid-day I was conducted to the custom-house, round which a number of troops were drawn up.* I proceeded in company with the interpreters to the conference chamber. The Japanese, according to custom, seated themselves upon the floor, but a seat was handed to me. Captain Rikord soon arrived in the governor's barge, accompanied by Mr. Saweljeff, one of his officers, the interpreter, Kisseleff, and a few sailors. The latter were stationed in an open place in front of the house, and Captain Rikord, Saweljeff, and Kisseleff, entered the apartment in which I was waiting to receive them. I leave the reader to imagine the feelings which attended our meeting.

A seat was immediately placed for Captain Rikord; and the interpreters having intimated that we might converse together as long as we pleased, they stepped aside, and paid no attention to what we said. The joy, astonishment, and curiosity with which our questions and answers succeeded each other, may easily be conceived. Rikord wished to know all that had occurred to us during our imprisonment. I, in my turn, inquired respecting my

* On festival days, or on the unusual occurrence of receiving foreigners, the Japanese soldiers wear silk, or velvet dresses, embroidered with gold and silver, which are like their common gowns, with full hanging sleeves, only somewhat shorter. These state-dresses are the property of the government; they are kept in imperial magazines, and only delivered to the soldiers on the occasions above-mentioned. They constitute no particular uniform, but are all made of different materials, and variously embroidered.

friends at home and Russian affairs, and thus we proceeded from one subject to another. At length I explained the object of our interview, and he acquainted me with the instructions he had received from the civil-governor of Irkutsk, respecting a determination of boundaries, and a treaty of friendship between the two empires. On taking into consideration the whole business, it appeared to us that the propositions of the Japanese were reasonable, and that, consequently, we ought to comply with them; but for several reasons, we did not deem it advisable at that time to negotiate for the fixing of boundaries and an alliance.

When every thing was arranged between Captain Rikord and me, the Japanese produced the translated declaration of the Bunyo of Matsmai. Captain Rikord, in return, delivered the document required by the Japanese, which Teske translated to the officers present, who declared themselves perfectly satisfied with it. The Japanese did not evince the least sign of impatience at the length of this interview, and at the end of our conference presented us with tea and sweetmeats. At length Captain Rikord departed. I accompanied him to the boat in which he embarked to go on board the "Diana," and then returned to our house.

My companions awaited my return with the utmost anxiety. I acquainted them with all I had heard from Mr. Rikord respecting the political affairs of Europe, the entrance of the French into Russia, and every particular relative to our families and friends. Two circumstances, however, I was under the necessity of concealing; namely, that Tachatay-Kachi had communicated to the Japanese the instructions given to Mr. Rikord respecting the

settling of the boundaries, and that the interpreter Kisseleff was a Japanese by birth. These facts I did not choose to disclose, that I might avoid giving uneasiness to my distrustful fellow prisoners, who to the last moment doubted the sincerity of the Japanese.

It will appear from Captain Rikord's account of his expedition to Matsmai how much we were indebted to him, and to his excellency the Civil Governor of Irkutsk. I must also, with a feeling of gratitude, mention that Captain Rikord's bold decision in landing to hold a conference in the town, contributed not a little to the favourable conclusion of the negotiation; for the interpreters had previously assured us, that if Captain Rikord did not come on shore, great difficulties would arise, the end of which could not be foreseen. We had certainly no reason for supposing that the Japanese would act as treacherously towards Captain Rikord as they had done to us. Indeed, the formal declaration of the bunyo, that he was authorized to grant us our liberty on receiving a satisfactory answer, our new residence, and the good treatment we experienced, all tended to convince us of the contrary. But of these circumstances Mr. Rikord was ignorant; besides, in my letter to him I had requested that he would incur no danger, and had advised him to communicate with the Japanese only in boats, at the distance of a gun-shot from the batteries. His resolution, therefore, to come on shore in a Japanese boat did not arise from a conviction of there being no danger, but was dictated by his courage and generous determination to risk every thing for our deliverance.

On the 6th of October, the interpreters delivered to Messrs. Chlebnikoff and Moor their sabres and hats, and

stated that we were on that day to be presented to the bunyo, who would in person notify our liberation. He advised us to put on our best clothes, and to wear our swords when we appeared before the bunyo. To this proposal we gladly assented. At noon we were conducted to the house of the governor of the town, where the bunyo resided. We three officers were shewn into a very neat apartment, and the sailors and Alexei were desired to remain in another. In a few hours Mr. Chlebnikoff, Mr. Moor, and I, were requested to enter a spacious hall, in which the government officers, with the academician, and the interpreters, were assembled. They were more than twenty in number, and were seated in rows on each side of the hall. The bunyo soon entered with his retinue and took his seat. The official persons made their obedience to him, we bowed in the European way, and he returned our salutation:—all the old ceremonies were repeated, except that the sword-bearer, instead of laying the sword by the side of the bunyo as formerly, held it perpendicularly in both hands, with the hilt upwards.

The bunyo then drew from his bosom a large sheet of paper, and, holding it up, said: “This contains the orders of the government.”—The interpreters immediately translated these words; while the officers of the government sat with their eyes cast down, as if deprived of all animation. The bunyo then unfolded the paper, and read its contents aloud. It was the document, a copy of which has already been given, stating that Chwostoff’s misconduct had been the occasion of our imprisonment; but that, as the bunyo was convinced that the said Chwostoff had acted without the sanction of the Russian Govern-

ment, he was authorized to grant us our liberty, and that we should embark on the following day.

The interpreters having translated this paper, and assured the bunyo that we understood it, one of the senior officers was dispatched in company with Kumaddscheru to communicate its contents to the sailors. In the meanwhile, the bunyo produced another paper, which he likewise read aloud, and afterwards desired Teske to translate it and to hand it to me. It was a congratulatory address, and was to the following effect :

“ You have now lived three years in a Japanese frontier town, and in a foreign climate, but you are now about to return to your native country. This affords me great pleasure. You, Captain Golownin, as the chief of your companions, must have endured extreme anxiety of mind, and I sincerely rejoice that you have attained your happy deliverance. You have, in some measure, become acquainted with the laws of our country, which prohibit us from maintaining any commerce with the people of foreign nations, and require that we should banish all foreign vessels from our coasts. Explain this to your countrymen on your return home. It has been our wish, whilst you remained in Japan, to treat you with all possible kindness ; but, before you became acquainted with our customs, our behaviour may have appeared to you the very opposite of what we intended. Each nation has its peculiar customs, but good conduct will everywhere be esteemed as such. On your return to Russia, inform your countrymen of this likewise. I wish you all a safe voyage.”

We thanked the bunyo for his condescension. Having

listened to our acknowledgments, he withdrew, and we were requested to return to our house.

Throughout the whole of these proceedings, not the slightest indication of joy was observable on Mr. Moor's countenance: he merely repeated, that he was unworthy of the kindness which the Japanese conferred upon him.

On return to our place of abode, a number of officers, soldiers, and other individuals came to wish us joy. The three officers next in rank to the bunyo also presented to me a written congratulation, which they requested I would preserve, as a memorial of our friendship. The following is a translation of this paper :

“ From the Ginmiyaks.

“ You have all lived for a long period in Japan, but you are now about to return to your native country, by order of the bunyo. The period of your departure is fast approaching. During your long residence here, such an intimacy has arisen between us, that we cannot help regretting the necessity of our separation. The distance between the Island of Matsmai and our eastern capital is very considerable, and in this frontier town there are many deficiencies. You have, however, been accustomed to heat, cold and other variations of weather, and are now prepared for your happy voyage home. Your own joy must be extreme; we, on our part, rejoice at the happy issue of the affair. May God protect you on your voyage! —for that we pray to him. We write this as a farewell letter.”

The pleasure of the Japanese was, indeed, unfeigned. We understood from the interpreters, that in consequence

of an application from the High Priest of the city, the bunyo had issued orders that prayers for our safe voyage should be offered up in all the temples for the space of five days.

On the 6th of October, one of the officers, accompanied by Kumaddschero, was sent on board the 'Diana,' to inform Captain Rikord that the orders for our liberation had been officially announced by the bunyo. At their request, I wrote a letter to this effect to Mr. Rikord. In the evening, by the governor's order, a supper was laid out for us in the upper apartment of our house. It consisted of ten different dishes, containing fish, game, ducks and geese, cooked in various ways. After supper, some of the best Japanese sagi was served out to us. Several boxes, containing lackered vessels, were afterwards brought in, as presents from the interpreters, in return for the books which, with the consent of the government, they had received from us; but they had been ordered to accept of nothing more.* We were, however, very well

* The Japanese kept a list of every article we possessed. A few days before our departure they looked over our things, and missed a pair of stockings, which we had cut in pieces for the purpose of distributing among the guards. They immediately inquired what had become of them. We replied, that we had given the pieces as presents to the soldiers, but declined naming the individuals who had received the fragments; but the interpreters insisted on knowing the names of the men, stating, that as the care of our property had been entrusted solely to them, they would be called to account in case of anything being left behind. They assured us that no punishment would await the guards. We, on the other hand, represented that there was no difference between our property and other European articles, and that the government could not possibly ascertain that the things had not been brought to Japan by the Dutch. Here the matter rested.

assured that these presents were sent to us at the expense of the government.

On the following day, the 7th of October, we put on our best dresses. The servants and guards packed up our other clothes in boxes, without omitting the least trifle, and placed them in the portico of the house. At mid-day we were conducted to the shore. Our clothes, the presents we had received, and the provisions for our voyage,* were carried behind us by a number of attendants. On reaching the harbour, we entered a building near the custom-house, where Mr. Moor, Mr. Chlebnikoff and I, were shown into one apartment, and the sailors into another. We had been only a few moments in this place, when Captain Rikord came ashore, accompanied by Mr. Saweljeff, the interpreter (Kisseleff), and some other individuals. Rikord and his two companions were conducted to the same apartment in which, a few days before, my interview with him had taken place, and which Mr. Chlebnikoff, Mr. Moor and I, were now requested to enter. Sampey and Chiogoro were among the officers whom we found assembled: they sat together on the place which had formerly been occupied by the bunyo. Sampey desired one of the inferior officers to present to Captain Rikord a salver, on which was a box, containing the declaration of the Bunyo of Matsmai, folded up in silken cloth. The officer, with much ceremony and respect, advanced to Captain Rikord, who, at the request of the Japanese, read the translation of the document from beginning to end. The next ceremony was the delivery to

* These provisions consisted of fifty bags of rice, a few casks of sagi, a quantity of salted and fresh fish, radishes, &c.

me of the paper, entitled: "A Notification from the two officers next in rank to the Governor of Matsmai." It was inclosed in a box, and wrapped in silk, but it was not presented on a salver, nor by the same officer who had handed the other document to Captain Rikord. Though I knew perfectly well the contents of the paper, for the sake of formality, I was requested to read it. The presents sent by the Governor of Irkutzk were then returned to us, and we received a list of the provisions which had been provided for our voyage. The Japanese, having wished us a happy return to Russia, took leave of us and withdrew.

Everything being in readiness for our departure, we were conducted to the bunyo's barge, in which we embarked, accompanied by Tachatay-Kachi; our clothes, provisions, and the presents, being placed in separate boats. On our way from the custom-house to the boats, all the Japanese, not only those with whom we were acquainted, but the strangers who were looking on, bade us adieu, and wished us a safe voyage.

The officers and seamen on board the 'Diana' received us with a degree of joy, or rather enthusiasm, which can only be felt by brothers or dear friends after a long absence, and a series of similar adventures. With regard to ourselves I can only say, that after an imprisonment of two years, two months, and twenty-six days, on finding ourselves again in an imperial Russian ship, surrounded by our countrymen, with whom we had for five or six years served in remote and dangerous voyages, we felt what men in such circumstances are capable of feeling, but which cannot be described.

CHAPTER III.

Japanese visitors to the 'Diana'—Their wish to see the signature of the Emperor of Russia—Presents—Portrait of Kutasoff—Scrupulous honesty observed in restoring the property of the prisoners—The 'Diana' leaves the harbour of Chakodade—Probable motives for the liberation of the Russian prisoners—Storm off the coast of Matsmai—Arrival at Kamtschatka—Moor's despondency—He commits suicide—Monument to his memory—Golownin departs from Petropaulowskoi—Arrives in St. Petersburg—Promotions and rewards granted to the officers and crew of the 'Diana.'

ON our reaching the 'Diana,' the governor's boat immediately put back, by Captain Rikord's orders, with a Japanese, who, on account of illness, had been left behind at Okotzk. Mr. Rikord wished this man to have been landed at Edomo, but there, as well as at Chakodade, the Japanese officers would not suffer him to go ashore, and they now, for the first time, consented to receive him. This was one of the individuals who, in the year 1811, suffered shipwreck on the coast of Kamtschatka. One of his legs had been so severely frozen, that, notwithstanding every remedy applied by our physician, amputation was found necessary, and he walked with a wooden leg. At this the Japanese were greatly astonished; for though the Dutch have made some of their surgeons acquainted with

the art of amputating, yet very few are sufficiently skilful to attempt the operation.

In the afternoon we were visited by our interpreters, the academician, and several officers, whose rank was three or four degrees beneath that of the bunyo. Teske and Kumaddscherro brought presents for Captain Rikord and me, consisting of silk, Japanese tea, and their best sagi and sweetmeats; in return for which, we entertained our guests with tea, sweet brandy and cordials. They drank so copiously that they soon became extremely cheerful and talkative. Captain Rikord delivered to the interpreters the letter of thanks from the Governor of Irkutsk, and as there was a copy at hand, they immediately, with our assistance, translated it into their own language. Our Japanese friends now expressed a wish to see the signature of the Emperor of Russia. Among my papers on board the vessel I happened to have an imperial rescript, which I had received on being invested with the order of St. Wladimir. I immediately laid the paper on the table, and pointed to the signature of the Emperor, upon which the Japanese all bowed their heads to the table, and in that position remained for several minutes. They then inspected the signature with demonstrations of the highest respect, and, having kept their eyes fixed upon it for some time, they again repeated the ceremony of bowing their heads to the table.

When they were preparing to take their leave, we gave to each a present of more or less value, according to the degree of friendship which subsisted between us. They endeavoured to accept these presents unobserved by each other, and concealed whatever we gave them in their loose sleeves, which occasionally answer the purpose of pockets. If we offered them anything of large size, they declined

accepting it ; but they received books, maps and copper-plate prints, without the least reserve. We gave them an atlas of Captain Krusenstern, several maps from the atlas of La Perouse, some books, and various other charts. The prints they accepted, but they returned the frames and glasses. Mr. Rikord gave them several engraved portraits of distinguished individuals, and a drawing of Prince Kutusoff, beautifully executed in crayons, by a son of the Governor of Irkutzk. When we related the achievements of Prince Kutusoff, they received his portrait with enthusiasm and gratitude ; we could not, however, prevail upon them to take the frame and glass, though we represented that the former was merely a piece of gilt wood, of little or no value. We observed that the portrait of Kutusoff might be injured without a glass ; but they replied that they would adopt means for preserving it when they went ashore.

Whilst the Japanese officers were entertained in the cabin, the deck of the 'Diana' was covered with visitors. Soldiers, and even females, had come on board to see the interior of the ship, and, when the officers departed, the soldiers and women descended into the cabin. We readily granted them the satisfaction of viewing the curiosities and ornaments of the cabin, which Captain Rikord had fitted up in a very tasteful style. As tokens of remembrance, Captain Rikord gave to each of the Japanese a piece of fine red cloth, for making a tobacco-bag, and two pieces of cut glass belonging to a chandelier. They regarded the latter as great curiosities. To the children we gave pieces of sugar ; but these little presents were immediately taken possession of by their parents, and carefully wrapped up in pieces of cloth. Our guests remained with us till evening, when, for the

first time, we enjoyed tranquillity, and an opportunity of conversing together respecting our native country, and the adventures we had encountered.

On the following day, the 8th of October, we opened, out of curiosity, a box which had been sent on board in one of the boats: to our great astonishment it contained every article belonging to us, such as clothes, linen, money, &c., in short, everything down to the smallest piece of rag that had been left behind. On every article was marked the name of the individual to whom it belonged. Among the things which Captain Rikord had sent on shore at Kunashier was a razor-case, containing a looking-glass, an article, the manufacture of which is totally unknown to the Japanese. On its removal from Kunashier to Chakodade, the looking-glass had accidentally been broken, and we now found the pieces collected in a box, with a note, apologizing for the accident, which, it was observed, had arisen in consequence of the Japanese not knowing how to convey so brittle an article.*

Tachatay-Kachi was this day our first visitor. He informed us that our request to have a formal audience of the bunyo,† for the purpose of thanking him in person, was not approved; he therefore advised us to set sail without delay, adding that the ship would be furnished with a supply of water. Several boats soon after

* The Japanese have no looking-glasses. Their metal mirrors are, however, so exquisitely polished, that they are scarcely inferior to our finest looking-glasses.

† Captain Rikord had never seen the bunyo, though the latter saw him during our conference on the shore, where he sat, incognito, behind a screen in the custom-house.

came alongside for our water-casks, which were speedily filled, and sent on board.

On the following day, everything was in readiness for our departure, but the wind proved unfavourable. On the 10th of October, we unmoored, and proceeded to work out of the bay. Teske, Kumaddschero, and Tachatay-Kachi, accompanied us in boats destined to give us assistance, if necessary. The shore was crowded with spectators to witness our departure. When we had completely left the harbour, our Japanese friends warmly repeated their wishes for our safe return home, and took their last farewell. With considerable difficulty we prevailed on them to accept a few presents; they assured us that we had already given them more than enough. As they left the ship, our repeated adieus were accompanied by ardent wishes that a friendly alliance might speedily be established between Russia and Japan. We separated with reciprocal cheers, and the Japanese continued their salutes as long as we remained within sight of each other; but our sails were soon filled by a brisk and favourable breeze, and the 'Diana' rapidly removed us from a land where we had endured much suffering, but where we had also experienced the generosity of a pacific people, whom some Europeans, perhaps less civilized, regard as barbarians.

And here I must take the liberty of offering a remark on the opinions of those who attribute our liberation, and the ultimate good conduct of the Japanese, to the cowardice of that people, and the dread of the vengeance of Russia. For my own part, I am persuaded that, generally speaking, they acted from feelings of humanity, not merely because I am always inclined to regard good

effects as springing from good causes, but because I can support my assertion by proof. Had fear operated on the minds of the Japanese, they would, at an earlier period, have come to a reconciliation with us; but, on the contrary, they had determined to resort to force, and had ordered Captain Rikord to be informed that we were dead at a time when they were using every precaution for the preservation of our health. Fear might, indeed, be supposed to have had some effect upon them, were the eastern provinces of Russia in a state corresponding with those of the west; but the Japanese were well aware of the very important difference between the two divisions of our empire. In my Narrative, however, the motives and the proceedings of both parties are presented to the consideration of the reader, who is thus afforded an opportunity of forming a judgment for himself.

The only circumstance worthy of observation which occurred during our voyage from Chakodade to the harbour of Petropaulowska, was a storm of extraordinary violence, which we encountered one night off the eastern coast of the island of Matsmai; it even exceeded in fury and danger the two most dreadful tempests I ever experienced—the one off Cape Horn, and the other during my voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to New Holland.

We cast anchor in Awatscha Bay, on the 3rd of November. Though at that season scarcely habitable, Kamtschatka, with its snow-topped mountains, volcanoes, and impenetrable forests, seemed a paradise, for it was a portion of our native land. Several of our friends who now came on board were as much astonished at

beholding me as though I had risen from the dead. In company with two of these friends, I went on shore at Petropaulowska.

I turn once more to my unhappy companion Mr. Moor, whose deep repentance had extinguished all recollection of his errors. The sad fate of that officer cannot fail to excite sympathy in every feeling heart, whilst at the same time it will serve as a dreadful example of the consequences of similar misconduct.

When we embarked on board the 'Diana' at Chakodade, the officers eagerly thronged round us; Mr. Moor, however, stood motionless, and apparently insensible to all that was passing. We all resolved among ourselves never, in his presence, to converse on the affairs of Japan, or to mention any circumstance which might remind him of his former conduct. We made every possible endeavour to amuse his mind, by discoursing on subjects relative to Russia; but all in vain. He dressed himself in a way unbecoming his rank, and seldom spoke, even to the sailors, among whom he was principally to be found. When we remonstrated with him on this mode of proceeding, he usually replied: "I am unworthy to associate with my brother officers; it is even too much if the sailors condescend to keep company with me." Even when we prevailed on him to come into the cabin, he remained buried in thought. For some days after we left Chakodade, he joined the rest of the officers at dinner, supper, and tea; but this he soon discontinued, and confined himself entirely to his own cabin. Sometimes, after fasting for the space of three days, he would eat a great quantity of food with the utmost voracity. It appeared as if he wished, by this irregular

mode of living, to bring on himself some fatal disorder. Such was his strange behaviour until we arrived at Kamtschatka.

Lieutenant Rudakoff, Mr. Moor's old shipmate and friend, was now Commandant of Petropaulowska. He had, a short time before, married a beautiful and accomplished young lady, and they resided in a spacious house near the harbour. We thought that if they could be prevailed on to receive Mr. Moor as their inmate, the society of an intelligent and sprightly woman might have the effect of removing the despondency under which he laboured. We accordingly made the proposal to Mr. Rudakoff, and he readily acceded to it. But our hopes were quickly disappointed, for the change produced no difference whatever on Mr. Moor. He loved to seclude himself from the society of his friends; and when alone, he wept aloud, and deprecated his unhappy fate. On one occasion, he so greatly alarmed Madame Rudakoff, that she considered it unsafe to live under the same roof. We then removed him to the house of a priest, with whom he had resided before our captivity. Religion and spiritual discourse might indeed have had a beneficial effect upon Mr. Moor's mind, had the priest been possessed of agreeable conversational power; but unfortunately such was not the case with Father Alexander. His religious dissertations were of too gloomy a character to produce any favourable impression on the mind of our unhappy friend.

After we were made prisoners in Kunashier, Mr. Moor's effects had been sold by auction, and he was now entitled to the sum of eight thousand rubles. We advised him to provide himself with a new outfit of

clothes and various other articles, but he replied that he neither wanted money nor anything else. His dress consisted of an old Kamtschatdale parki, made of reindeer skin. He at length said that his conscience obliged him to address a report to me, in which he styled himself a traitor and an outcast, and declared that he felt himself called upon by all that he regarded as sacred to make this confession.

This report was so incoherent and extravagant, that not a doubt could longer remain of Mr. Moor having lost his senses. I immediately wrote a letter of consolation to my unhappy companion, to assure him that his error was not so enormous as he himself accounted it; that we all wished to forget what was passed, and that, as he was young, he would have many opportunities of making amends for a fault into which he had been driven by despair. I added, that his future good conduct could not fail to remove all the remorse which agitated his mind. I requested that Lieutenant Rudakoff would be the bearer of this letter, and that he would use every endeavour to tranquillize his distressed friend. I afterwards visited him myself, accompanied by Captain Rikord, on which occasion we, in some measure, succeeded in cheering his spirits. He discoursed reasonably, thanked me for my letter, and observed that he was unworthy of so much kindness. In the course of a few days he expressed a wish to take up his abode in a Kamtschatdale village, where, he observed, he could live more at his ease, as the sight of the Russians, whom he daily met with in Petropaulowska constantly reminded him of his misconduct. It seemed advisable to allow him in this particular to follow his own inclination, and we hoped that time would

heal the wounds which, in his present situation, every circumstance seemed to widen. Mr. Moor having obtained permission to remove, he began to make preparations for his departure, and purchased everything which he thought would be necessary for his country life. The individuals who for his safety it had been judged necessary to appoint to look after him, concluded that their duty of watching would now, in a certain degree, be diminished.

Mr. Moor was exceedingly fond of shooting, and when he went abroad to enjoy that diversion, one of the guards was directed to carry his gun, and to hand it him when he wished to fire, but never to leave him for a moment. One day, as he was out shooting on the shore of Awatscha Bay, he desired the soldier who accompanied him to return home to dinner. "You need not fear," said he, laughing, "for if I wished to put an end to my life, I could do so at home with a knife or a sword." The soldier obeyed. As, however, Mr. Moor did not return at his usual time, the man went in search of him, and, with horror, beheld his bleeding and lifeless corpse on the shore of the bay. His clothes were hanging on a post, and the gun lay by his side with a stick on the cock. He had apparently fired it with his foot. His body was opened, and in the breast were found two pieces of lead, with which he had loaded the gun. He had left on a table in his apartment, a paper containing the following singular expression :—"That life had become insupportable to him, and that, at certain times, he could even fancy he had swallowed the sun."

This unfortunate officer terminated his life on the 22nd of November, 1813, in the thirtieth year of his age. We erected a monument over his grave, on which were inscribed the following lines :—

HERE REST THE ASHES OF

LIEUTENANT FEODOR MOOR,

WHO TERMINATED HIS CAREER IN THE HARBOUR OF PETROPAULOWSKA,
ON THE 22ND OF NOVEMBER, 1813,

IN THE FLOWER OF HIS AGE.

IN JAPAN

HE WAS ABANDONED BY THE PROTECTING SPIRIT, WHICH HAD
HITHERTO BEEN HIS GUIDE.

DESPAIR

PLUNGED HIM INTO ERROR;
BUT HIS FAULTS WERE EXPIATED BY BITTER REPENTANCE AND DEATH.

FROM THE FEELING HEART HIS FATE CLAIMS

A TEAR!

—
TO HIS MEMORY

THE OFFICERS OF THE 'DIANA' DEDICATE

THIS MONUMENT.

Mr. Moor was a man of great merit and varied attainments. In addition to the knowledge requisite for his profession, he was conversant with several languages, and was an admirable draughtsman. He loved the service to which he had devoted his life, and was zealous and indefatigable in the discharge of his duty. In society he was extremely entertaining. I had served on board the same ship with him for five years previous to the unfortunate catastrophe which befel us at Kunashier. Had not fate rendered me a witness of his errors, I never could have believed him capable of such a change as his conduct in Japan exhibited.

On the 2nd of December, Captain Rikord and I departed from Petropaulowska in sledges drawn by dogs. The new year, 1814, commenced whilst we were in that

extensive and uninhabitable steppe, called the Parapolsk Valley, which comprehends a space of three hundred wersts, and where travellers frequently fall victims to storms and drifts of snow. After surmounting many dangers, we entered the town Inshiginsk, in the middle of February, where the public service required that we should part. Captain Rikord turned back to retrace his journey; whilst I continued my onward course, and reached Okotzk on the 11th of March, having travelled with dogs a distance of more than three thousand wersts. On quitting Okotzk, I first travelled with dogs, and afterwards with rein-deer, or horses; and when at a distance of two hundred and eighty wersts from Irkutzk I proceeded in post-kibitkes. I arrived at Irkutzk, by the winter road, at the latter end of April. In the middle of May I left Irkutzk, and reached St. Petersburg on the 22nd of July.* Soon after my arrival I learned that his Imperial Majesty had promoted me to the rank of captain of the second rank. I felt this unexpected favour the more, as I had, about three years previously, been invested with the order of St. Wladimir.

His Imperial Majesty afterwards rewarded the officers of the 'Diana' in the following manner: to me and Captain Rikord (who had likewise been appointed a captain of the second rank) he granted an annual pension of fifteen hundred roubles each, and gave orders that our narratives should be printed at the expense of the government. Lieutenants Jakuschkin and Filatoff were each invested with the order of St. Wladimir of the fourth

* I left St. Petersburg on the 22nd of July, 1807, and by a singular accident, after an absence of seven years, I arrived in that city on the same day of the month, and at the same hour.

class. Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was a pilot of the ninth class, Messrs. Nowitzky and Sredney, pilots of the twelfth class, and Mr. Popyrin, the master-at-arms, received pensions to the amount of their full yearly pay; to Mr. Saweljah, the clerk of the fourteenth class, was granted a pension; to the commissary's assistant, Natschpinsky, the rank of the twelfth class; to the master's mate, Labutin, the rank of the fourteenth class; to the inferior officers, pensions amounting to a full year's pay; and to the inferior officers, who had been drafted from Okotzk, a gratuity of one year's pay. The sailors who had been prisoners in Japan, received permission to retire from the service, and were allowed annual pensions, amounting to their full yearly pay. The Kurile, Alexei, as a reward for his good conduct, was presented with a hanger, and received, instead of a pension, twenty pounds of powder, and forty pounds of shot.

RECOLLECTIONS OF JAPAN.

P R E F A C E.

It is hoped that the following notices of Japan and the Japanese will not be deemed a superfluous addition to the Narrative of my Captivity. The information here given was chiefly collected in the course of conversations with our interpreters and guards; but as it frequently happened that they contradicted each other in their statements, I considered it as my duty to set down in my memoranda, only such facts as were confirmed by the concurrent testimony of several individuals. For facility of reference, these facts are arranged under the following general heads:

1. Geographical situation and climate of Japan, and origin of the Japanese nation.
2. Religion and religious customs.
3. National character, civilization, and language.
4. Government of the empire.
5. Laws and customs.
6. Productions of the country; trade and commerce.
7. Population and military force; and lastly,
8. People who pay tribute to the Japanese, and colonies.

RECOLLECTIONS

OF

JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical situation of the Japanese possessions—Their climate and extent—Origin of the Japanese nation—Ancient traditions—Hypothesis respecting the common origin of the Japanese and Chinese—Authentic history of Japan—Opinion of the Japanese relative to the origin of the human race.

THE geographical situation of the Japanese possessions is, in respect to latitude, the same as that of the countries lying between the southern provinces of France and the south part of Morocco ; their longitude is about 100° east from St. Petersburg, so that in the central part of Japan the sun rises seven hours earlier than in that city. The Japanese empire consists of islands, of which the largest and most considerable is Nippon. Its greatest length, from south-west to north-east, is one thousand three hundred wersts, and its greatest breadth about two hundred and sixty wersts. At a small distance northward of Nippon lies the twenty-second Kurile Island of Matmai or Matsmai, which is one thousand four hundred

wersts in circumference. To the north of Matsmai are the Island of Sagaleen (of which only the southerly half belongs to Japan, the other half being subject to the Chinese), and the three Kurile Islands of Kunashier, Tschikotan and Eetooroop (Turpu). South of Nippon, lie the two considerable islands of Kiosu and Sikonfu. The length of the first is above three hundred wersts; and that of the second, two hundred. Besides these eight principal islands, the Japanese possess many others of inferior consequence.

The Japanese possessions, surrounded by the Eastern Ocean, lie opposite to the coasts of Corea, China and Tartary, from which they are separated by a broad strait, called the Sea of Japan, and, in the narrowest parts, the straits of Corea. The least breadth of this strait, between the southern coast of Nippon and Corea, is one hundred and forty wersts: but its greatest breadth is above eight hundred wersts. On a comparison of the geographical situation of the Japanese possessions, with that of the countries of the western hemisphere, in the same degrees of latitude, it might be imagined that the climate, the changes of seasons, and atmosphere, were alike in both; but such a conclusion would be very erroneous. The difference of the two parts of the world, in this respect, is so striking, that it deserves more particular notice. I will take, as an example, Matsmai, where I lived two years. This town lies in the forty-second degree of latitude, that is, on a parallel with Leghorn in Italy, Bilboa in Spain, and Toulon in France. In those places, the inhabitants hardly know what frost is; and they never see snow, except on the tops of high mountains: in Matsmai, on the contrary, the ponds and lakes freeze, the snow lies

in the valleys and plains from November till April, and falls, in as great abundance as with us in St. Petersburg. Severe frosts are indeed uncommon, yet the cold is often fifteen degrees of Reaumur. In summer, the parts of Europe situated in the same latitude as Matsmai enjoy, almost constantly, serene and warm weather: in Matsmai, on the other hand, the rain pours in torrents at least twice a week, the horizon is obscured by dark clouds, violent winds blow, and the fog is scarcely ever dispersed. In Europe, in corresponding latitudes, oranges, lemons, figs, &c., thrive in the open air; in the latter, apples, pears, peaches and grapes, hardly attain ripeness.

I have not, it is true, been in Nippon, the principal island of the Japanese possessions; but I have heard from the natives that, in Yeddo, the capital city of the empire, in the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, snow often falls, during the winter nights, to the depth of an inch or more. It is true it melts in a few hours; but if we consider that Yeddo is in the same latitude as Malaga, in Spain, we shall be convinced that the climate of the eastern is much ruder than that of the western hemisphere. The Japanese assured me that, on the southern part of Sagaleen, in the forty-seventh degree of latitude, the ground is often thawed, during the summer, only to a depth of a foot and a half. If we compare with this the climate of a place in Europe, of corresponding latitude, for example, Lyons in France, how different are the results! That the accounts given by the Japanese are correct, I cannot doubt, for we ourselves met with great fields of ice, as late as the month of May, off the Kurile Island of Raschaua, in latitude $47^{\circ} 45'$. At that season, no ice is to be seen with us in the Gulf of Finland, in 60° north latitude; though the water there, from being so

confined, has not power to break the ice, which disappears the more readily in consequence of the effects of the rays of the sun. Off Japan, on the contrary, the waves of the ocean would break it up much sooner, if the sun acted with the same power.

This great difference of climate proceeds from local causes. The Japanese possessions lie in the eastern ocean, which may be truly called the Empire of Fogs. In the summer months, fog often continues three or four days without interruption, and there seldom passes a day which is not, for some hours, gloomy, rainy or foggy. In the eastern ocean perfectly clear days are as rare in summer as fogs in the western ocean. Though clear weather is more continuous in winter, yet a week seldom passes without two or three gloomy days. These fogs render the air cold and damp, and hinder the sun from producing so much effect as in countries in which the sky is clear. The northern parts of the Islands of Nippon, Matsmai, and Sagaleen, are moreover covered with extremely high mountains (the summits of which are mostly above the clouds), whence the winds bring an extraordinary degree of cold. The Japanese possessions are separated from the continent of Asia by a strait, the greatest breadth of which is eight hundred wersts, and the country of the Mantchous and Tartary, which form the eastern frontier of Asia, towards Japan, are nothing but immense deserts covered with mountains and innumerable lakes, and the winds that blow over them, bring, even in summer, an extraordinary degree of cold. These causes may account for the striking difference of climate in the countries situated on the eastern part of the old world, and those of the western hemisphere of corresponding degrees of latitude.

In the writings of Europeans relative to Japan, a great deal is said of the origin of the inhabitants of that empire; but all is founded on fabulous and uncertain traditions. One of these stories is, that the population of Japan originated with three hundred youths and virgins, whom an Emperor of Japan sent to Nippon, by the advice of his brother, for the purpose of searching for herbs to compose a beverage which should confer immortality. This and other similar fables are disregarded by the more sensible portion of the Japanese. Our interpreter, Teske, and the acadamecian, often in our conversations smiled, at the credulity of their countrymen in regard to their origin. Among other traditions, they related to us the following: at a period of remote antiquity, the whole earth was covered with water, in which state it remained during a countless series of years without the Almighty Creator, whom the Japanese call "Tenko Sama" (Ruler of Heaven) having cast his eye upon it. At length, Kami, his eldest son, obtained permission to render the earth habitable, and to people it. He took an extremely long pole to sound the depth of the water, which he found to be most shallow precisely in the spot where Japan is now situated. He raked the earth from the bottom, collected it in a heap, and created the Island of Nippon. Having furnished it with all the natural productions which still flourish there, he divided himself into two beings, one male and the other female, and peopled the new country. When the other children of God saw their brother's work, they did the same in other parts of the globe, and though they succeeded in creating and peopling various countries, yet they were less able than their elder brother, and, hence, in their creation of nations and men, they did not attain the same perfection. Thus

it happens that the Japanese are superior to all the other inhabitants of the earth, and the productions of Japan are better than all others. Teske, who laughed at this tradition, assured us that even to this day, most of his countrymen implicitly believe the fable, and many affirm that a part of the pole or staff, which their first ancestor employed to measure the depths of the ocean, still exists as an evergreen-tree on one of the highest mountains of the Island of Nippon.

I will not weary the reader by narrating other traditions similarly absurd, many of which are devoutly believed by the ignorant and credulous portion of the people. I will only mention the opinion of the better informed Japanese concerning the origin of their nation. They are convinced that the Japanese and the Kuriles were originally one and the same nation, and that they are descended from the same stock. They endeavour to prove this by a number of words common to both languages, by the resemblance of certain traditions, believed by the people of Japan and those of the Kurile Islands, as well as by some usages which have been common from ancient times to both nations. This hypothesis is really supported by the Japanese language, as well as by the features and manners of the people, their laws and customs. Everything, on the other hand, seems to testify that the Chinese and the Japanese were never one people. The Japanese themselves repudiate the idea of the Chinese having been their ancestors; and their contempt of that nation goes so far, that when they mean to call any one a rogue or a cheat, they say he is a true Chinese. Nevertheless, they admit that many families in Japan are of Chinese origin. Their history does not indeed record any migration of the Chinese to Japan, but they believe that,

in the frequent wars between the two nations, the Japanese took a great number of Chinese prisoners. According to the accounts of the Japanese historians, the Chinese were conquered in all the wars, and only the principle of the Japanese policy, not to extend their dominions, withheld them from entirely subduing China. Though these statements are doubtless exaggerated, yet it may fairly be presumed that the Japanese obtained very great advantages in the early wars with the Chinese. The great respect which the Chinese Emperors render to the Emperors of Japan, and the arrogance with which the Japanese treat those Chinese who come to them for purposes of trade, tend to support this supposition. It is, therefore, probable, that the Japanese, who made frequent and successful attacks on the Chinese coasts, took numerous prisoners, whom they brought off as slaves. The Japanese historians also assert, that emigrants from India settled among them, from whom the religious sect, now predominant, borrowed its faith, which appears to be merely the faith of the Brahmins under another form.

This is all that well-informed Japanese regard as certain respecting the origin of their nation. They affirm that their history has acquired a certain degree of authenticity, since the government of the present house of Kin-Rey, or of the spiritual emperors, has been established; that is, according to their chronology, for a period of above two thousand four hundred years, or six centuries before the birth of Christ. Some of the most important events of these twenty-four centuries are described by historians pretty much in detail, others are only touched upon. The names of all the spiritual emperors of this house, as well as their successors, and the years of their accession to the government, are known

to the Japanese. All traditions respecting events preceding that period, they regard as fables undeserving of belief, even though mentioned by their historians.

In a conversation on this subject, Teske made the following remark: "Though traditions of this kind," said he, "are ridiculous and incredible, yet we must not disturb the popular belief in them; for that belief is useful to the State. It causes the people to prefer themselves to all other nations, to despise foreign manners, and, in general, everything that is foreign; and the Japanese have learned, by dearly-bought experience, that it has always been attended with misfortune to them when they adopted anything foreign, or suffered foreigners to interfere in their concerns. Besides, the same prejudice that teaches a people to love their country above all things, binds them to their native soil, and deters them from exchanging it for a foreign land."

In the opinion of Teske and the academician, researches into the origin of a people, and enquiries as to what nations in ancient times sprang from one common stock, are frivolous and useless, and at best calculated only to amuse idle people, and to furnish materials for fiction. "For," said they, "if even old persons give wholly different accounts of events of which they were witnesses in their youth, how is it possible to believe traditions, which must have been handed down through many generations? Or how can we immediately draw a conclusion that two nations are of the same origin, because they have two or three words alike in their language, or some peculiar custom common to both?" How far these notions of my Japanese friends are just, I shall not attempt to determine.

Even the most unprejudiced Japanese will not believe that all the nations of the world descend from a single

man. As a proof of the contrary, they allege the difference in the external appearance of different nations. "How can we persuade ourselves," say they, "that the Dutch and the negroes on board their ships, could be descended from the same common parents, even many thousand years ago?"

CHAPTER II.

Discovery of Japan—Catholic missionaries—Their mercenary motives—Prohibitory edicts for the extirpation of Christianity—Timid character of the Japanese—National characteristics—Temperance—Dissoluteness—Education and knowledge among the people—Japanese notions of history—Geography—Civility and politeness among the people—The Japanese language.

JAPAN first became known to Europeans about the middle of the sixteenth century.* The rage for conquering newly discovered countries, was the prevailing spirit among the great powers of those times. The Portuguese wished to subjugate Japan, and, according to their custom, began by trading and preaching the Catholic faith. The missionaries whom they sent to Japan had free access to the interior of the kingdom, and had at first wonderful success in converting their

* The first European ship that ever reached Japan is understood to have been Portuguese, and to have been driven thither by a tempest, in 1534. Marco Polo did not personally visit Japan. He speaks of that country from information he obtained in China, describing it, under the name of Zipanga, as a country rich in gold and silver, pearls and precious stones.

new disciples. But the Emperor Teigo*, who reigned in Japan at the end of the sixteenth century, soon remarked that the Jesuits were much more eager to collect Japanese gold, than to save the souls of their new converts; he, therefore, resolved to extirpate Christianity in Japan, and to banish the missionaries from his dominions. Charlevoix mentions in his history, that this determination of Teigo Sama was caused by the declaration of a Spanish captain, who, being asked by the Japanese "by what means his Sovereign had succeeded in subduing such great countries, particularly America?" answered, that they had effected that object in a very easy way, by first converting to Christianity the inhabitants of the countries which they desired to subdue. I know not how far this statement may be correct, but, in the opinion of the Japanese, the chief, or rather, only ground of the extirpation of the Christians from Japan, was the insolent conduct of the Jesuits and Franciscans, sent by the Spaniards, as well as the rapacity of the Portuguese merchants. Both the monks and the merchants committed excesses of every kind to obtain their ends, and to enrich themselves. Other emperors, therefore, though less shrewd than Teigo, might easily have perceived that self-interest was the only motives of those preachers, and that religion was merely the instrument by which they hoped to further their mercenary schemes.

Be this as it may, Teigo and his successors succeeded in expelling all Europeans* from their dominions, and

* By some writers called Teko Sama; but the Japanese pronounce it Teigo. The word Sama signifies ruler, and is affixed to the name.

† The Dutch excepted. They assured the Japanese that they were no

in wholly rooting out the Christian faith. Even in the middle of the seventeenth century, no individual in Japan ventured publicly to profess Christianity. The bad conduct and the covetousness of the Catholic priests and of the Portuguese merchants, excited in the Japanese Government an inveterate hatred of Christianity; and the persecution of Christians was accompanied with the most dreadful tortures that ingenuity could devise. Rigorous edicts prohibited any Christian from showing himself in Japan; any Japanese ship from visiting foreign countries for the sake of trade; or any native leaving his country, lest he should be converted, when abroad, to the Christian faith.

When we examine dispassionately, and without prejudice, the real though hidden motive which impelled the Portuguese, and then the Spaniards, to preach the Catholic faith in Japan;—when we consider their licentious conduct in that country, and the evils which they caused in it, by endeavouring to annihilate the religion which had long prevailed, to overturn the legitimate authority, and to subjugate a numerous, peaceful, and harmless people;—if we bear in mind, that the plan of those pretended Christians was to disturb the tranquillity of the nation and excite civil war, can it be surprising that the Japanese should act with severity, and even cruelty towards Christians.

The Japanese are deficient in one virtue highly esteemed among Europeans, namely, courage. But

Christians, and in consequence obtained permission to carry on trade; but on conditions which render the Dutch in Japan, as it were, prisoners. It is almost impossible to regard them as a free people, visiting the country for the sake of trade.

their timidity may, in a great degree, be attributed to the peaceful character of their government, the long repose which the nation has enjoyed, or rather, of their being unaccustomed to shed blood.

Strong liquors are in use among the Japanese. The common people are very fond of them, and frequently drink to excess on holidays; but the vice of drunkenness is far less common in Japan than in many European countries. To be intoxicated in the daytime is looked upon as very disgraceful, even among the common people; the votaries of drinking, therefore, do not indulge their propensity until evening, after the termination of all labour and business. Besides, the Japanese drink only on particular occasions, and in the social circle, and not as the common men do in Europe.

Among the vices of the Japanese, the most prevalent appears to be incontinence. Though the law allows a man no more than one wife, yet it grants the right of keeping concubines; and the opulent classes avail themselves of this right even to excess. Bagnios are under the protection of the laws; they have their regulations, rules, and privileges, and the owners of them enjoy the rights and privileges accorded to merchants. These houses are generally kept open from sun-set to sun-rise, during which time music is almost continually played and drums beaten. There were some such places near our place of abode at Matsmai, and scarcely a single night elapsed during which we did not hear the music and drums. We were informed that at Yeddo, the capital of the temporal emperor, the largest establishments of this kind are nothing inferior in magnificence to the palaces of princes. In one of these temples

dedicated to Venus, there are no less than six hundred priestesses.*

Revenge might be reckoned, in earlier times, among the vices of the Japanese. The duty of revenging an injury formerly descended from grandfather to grandson and even lower, till the descendants of the person injured found an opportunity to take vengeance on the descendants of the offender; but in present times, I was assured this propensity no longer prevails to such a degree, and offences are sooner forgotten.

The Japanese may be said to be frugal, without being niggardly. They hold covetousness in great contempt, and have many severe apologues at the expense of misers. The decent and even rich clothing which they continually wear, according to their respective ranks, proves the careful habits of the people.

In respect to the degree of knowledge to be found among the people at large, the Japanese, comparing one nation with another, are the most enlightened nation in the world. Nearly every individual is able to read and write, and knows the laws of his country, which are seldom changed, and the most important of which are publicly exhibited on large tables in the towns and villages, in the public squares, and other places. In agriculture, horticulture, the fishery, the chase, the manufacture of

* It is a curious fact, that although the owners of these infamous receptacles have the imperial licence, yet are they held in detestation by the people. When any of them die, they are regarded as unworthy to rest amongst the worst of mankind. A bridle made of straw being put into their mouths, they are dragged in the clothes they died in through the streets into fields, and there cast upon a dunghill, for dogs and birds of prey to devour.

silk and woollen stuffs, of porcelain and lackered goods, and in the polishing of metals, they are not inferior to Europeans. They are also well acquainted with mining, and understand how to make several works in metal.* In the arts of cabinet-making and turnery they are perfect masters: they are, besides, admirably skilled in the manufacture of all articles belonging to domestic economy.

As an instance of the knowledge which not unfrequently prevails among the inferior classes of the people, I may mention the following fact. A common soldier, who was one of our guard during our captivity, one day took a tea-cup, pointed to it, and asked me whether I knew that our earth was round, and what was the relative position of Europe and Japan, pointing out, at the same time, pretty accurately upon the cup, the respective situations of both countries upon the globe. Several other soldiers showed us geometrical figures, and enquired whether these methods of measuring and dividing the earth were known to us. Every Japanese is acquainted with the virtues of the various medicinal herbs which grow in that climate, and almost every one carries about him the medicines most usually required, such as aperients, emetics, &c., which he immediately uses in case of need.

* It may be difficult to separate the knowledge originally possessed by the Japanese from that acquired by intercourse with Europeans which, in the early stage of our acquaintance with them, was under few restrictions. Thus, for instance, it is perhaps scarcely possible to say, whether they obtained the knowledge of gunpowder from the first Portuguese discoverers, or from China, where it is said to have been used long before its discovery in Europe. Telescopes, also, are described by Thunberg as in frequent use in Japan, at a period when they were unknown to us.

The Japanese have, however, in common with other nations, the absurd and often fatal notion, that cures are to be effected by sympathy.

Except men of rank, who have a part in the government, and scholars, or men of learning, the Japanese have very confined notions of other nations. It is the policy of the government to check the knowledge of foreign manners and customs, that it may not corrupt the people, and make them deviate from the object to which the wisdom of the laws conducts them; namely, to live in contentment, tranquillity and abundance.

The geographical knowledge of the Japanese consists in being able to show upon the map where a country lies, and what space it occupies.

They consider the histories of all foreign nations, except China, as useless, and unworthy of their attention, and they ask to what purpose they must know all the tales which every nation invents out of vanity. The members of the government, and the learned are not, however, wholly unconcerned respecting the modern history of European states, particularly those which are nearest to them. The government endeavours to obtain, by means of the Chinese and Dutch, information respecting the political events in Europe, and observes the course they take. The Russian settlements in America, and the preponderance of the English in India, make them very uneasy. Notwithstanding all the pains we took to convince them of the truly pacific intentions of our Emperor and his government, many Japanese were afraid that their turn to be attacked would come sooner or later. They communicated their conjectures by circumlocutions. "All sovereigns," said they, "have not the

same dispositions; one loves peace, and another war:" once they owned to us, that a tradition had been current among them from ancient times, setting forth that the time would come when a people from the north would subdue Japan.

The Japanese are very well acquainted with the history and geography of their own country: and the perusal of historical books relating to Japan is their favourite amusement.

In painting, architecture, sculpture, engraving, music, and poetry, they are far inferior to Europeans. In the art of war they are still children, and wholly unacquainted with navigation, except of their own coasts.

The Japanese Government is desirous that the people should be satisfied with the degree of knowledge they possess, and that they should make use only of the productions of their own country. They are forbidden to adopt anything foreign, lest foreign manners should creep in with foreign arts and sciences. It is curious to mark some of the points in which they differ from, and also those in which they agree with other nations, with whom they have had no possible intercourse. With respect to Europe, they have been called our moral antipodes. White they consider as the colour of mourning; black, that of joy. They mount a horse on the off-side, like the Arabians; the reason assigned for which is, that in an action so noble and manly, it is wrong to rest upon the left foot. They wear habits of ceremony or their Sunday clothes in the house: but lay them aside in going out. They salute the foot, instead of the head or hands, &c.

In their intercourse with each other, the Japanese of

every rank are extremely polite ; their mutual courtesy and polished behaviour attest the real civilization of the people. During the whole time of our imprisonment we were with Japanese who did not belong to the higher classes ; yet we never heard them quarrel or employ abusive language. We were often witnesses to disputes between them ; but they were carried on with a wonderful degree of moderation and temper.*

The Japanese language is not borrowed from that of any other nation ; it has descended from the common progenitors of the Japanese and Kuriles. Former intercourse with the Chinese, the Coreans, and other nations, has introduced into it a number of words which now pass for national. Some European words also are in use among the Japanese ; for example : *savon*, soap ; † *buton*, button ; *tabago*, tobacco, &c.

It is strange, that they call money (in Russian, *dengi*)

* The extreme politeness of the Japanese has been described by the earliest writers. They account for it by stating that all the riches of this powerful empire are in the hands of the princes and nobility, who make a great show of their wealth ; their magnificence being carried to greater extent than anything known in Europe, or recorded in the history of the most powerful monarchies of ancient times. All this is seen by the great mass of the people without the slightest envy ; and if it happens that any nobleman, or man of high rank, by any unhappy accident, or by incurring the prince's displeasure, should fall into indigence, still he is not the less proud, nor less respected than in his most brilliant fortunes ; and into whatever misery or poverty a gentleman may be reduced, he never forms an alliance beneath his own rank. The point of honour is also extremely sensitive in all ranks, and the lowest of the people would feel hurt by any rude expression, even from a nobleman of the highest dignity, and would believe themselves justified in manifesting their resentment. Thus every one is upon his guard, and all ranks respect each other mutually.

† The Japanese do not prepare their soap themselves, but they receive

deni; and anchor (in Russian, *takor*) *takori*. Is the similarity of these words merely accidental?

I have mentioned in my narrative, that in books, state papers, and correspondence between people of the higher class, the Chinese method of writing is used; that is to say, by symbols. The common people, when they write, use an alphabet consisting of forty-eight letters, but many of them are properly not letters, but syllables, as *me, mi, mo, mu; ni, no, ke, ki, kiu*. The Japanese pronunciation is excessively difficult to Europeans; there are syllables which are not pronounced, such as *te* or *de*, but uttered by a sort of semi-articulation which we were quite unable to acquire. I do not believe any European would succeed in pronouncing the Japanese word for fire; I have tried for the space of two years, but in vain. When pronounced by the Japanese, it seemed to sound like *fi, chi, psi, fsi*, pronounced through the teeth; but in whatever manner we turned and twisted our tongues, the Japanese repeated "Not right." Words similarly difficult of pronunciation are numerous in the Japanese language.*

The Japanese having prohibited us from learning to it in small quantities from the Dutch. They only wash their linen in hot water; sometimes also with a lime, which has the property of making a lather. They have, probably, taken the word for soap from the Portuguese.

* The Japanese write in perpendicular lines, and in characters not remarkable for regularity. The genius of their language also requires that their characters, many of which are words, should be sometimes transposed, sometimes joined to others, or to particles invented for this express purpose—a custom so necessary, says Charlevoix, that whenever they print Chinese books in Japan, they are obliged to add these words or particles, to enable the people to read and to understand them. The principle on which the language is written, is nearly similar to that of the Chinese, the characters having the ideas attached to their figure, previous to any sound being given to them. Thus, ideas are expressed, inde-

write their language, we had no opportunity of making ourselves acquainted with their grammar; but to judge of it by what we learned, it cannot be very difficult, as the substantives and verbs undergo but few changes. The declensions are formed by particles annexed to the verbs. The verbs have no change for person, number, or mood, but only for tenses, of which they have three; the others are expressed by words, such as, long since, soon, &c. The prepositions follow the substantives to which they refer; the conjunctions too, in certain cases, follow the sentences which they connect together. In almost all known languages the personal pronouns are monosyllables, but in the Japanese they are very long; for example, *watagosi*, I; *watagosi-tono*, we; *kono*, he; *kono-daz*, she.

In learning the Japanese language there is another difficulty to be overcome besides reading and pronouncing it. This difficulty consists in the prodigious number of words. Many things and actions have two names; one is used when speaking to superiors or equals; the other, only when addressing common people and in ordinary conversation. It may, therefore, almost be said, that the Japanese have two languages, a peculiarity which, as far as I know, is not to be found among any other people in the world.

pendent of sounds. Memory is put to the test, but ambiguity is supposed to be avoided.

CHAPTER III.

Religion and religious customs—Mythological superstition—Brahminical doctrines—Atheistical ideas—Popular superstition—Forms of worship—Religious mendicants—Punishment of ecclesiastics—Monks and nuns.

THE prevailing religion of Japan is derived from India, as the Japanese themselves admit, and is a branch of the religion of the Brahmins; but millions, perhaps the greater part of the people, follow other religious doctrines, which cannot properly be called sects, as they are not branches of the prevailing religion, and have quite another origin. The Japanese with whom we conversed on the articles of their belief, did not agree respecting the number of different forms of religion among them. Some said there were seven; and others affirmed that there were only four; three of the seven being merely sects, formed from the four principal religions.

These four religions are :

1. The most ancient religion in Japan, which is followed by the aboriginal inhabitants of the empire. Though now much corrupted, and no longer the pre-

vailing religion of the people, yet it claims priority of notice on account of its antiquity. The adherents of this religion believe they have a preference before the rest, because they adore the ancient peculiar divinities called Kami; that is, the immortal spirits, or children of the highest being, who are very numerous. They also adore and pray to saints, who have distinguished themselves by a life agreeable to heaven through uncommon piety and religious zeal. They build temples to these saints, who are called Chadotschi. It would appear, however, that they have not all obtained this honour by their virtuous life and their piety; some among them, as the Japanese themselves assured us, obtained their reputation of sanctity by the intrigues of the clergy for their own advantage. The spiritual emperor is the head and the high priest of this religion; he is the judge of men upon earth, and names those who are to be received among the number of the saints.

Personal cleanliness is one of the chief and indispensable rules of this religion, the followers of which are not permitted to kill or to eat animals employed for work, or in domestic services. Thus, they must not eat beef, but they eat poultry, deer, hares, and even bears: they are also permitted to feed upon fish, and all kinds of marine animals. They must avoid staining themselves with blood, as this may defile them for a certain time. Touching a corpse, nay, entering a house in which there is a dead person, defiles them for a number of days, more or less, according to circumstances; they therefore take all possible precautions to avoid defiling themselves in any of these ways.

This religion has a sect who eat no land animal, but only sea animals and fish: to this sect some of our guards

belonged. Several of them often ate deer and bears' flesh with us ; others, on the contrary, upon the days when meat was set before us, would not even light their pipes at the same fire with us. At other times they would smoke out of our pipes, gave us theirs, nay, even drank their tea out of the cups which we had used. At first, I believed that they were adherents of different religions, but learned afterwards that the difference merely consisted in some particular rules adopted by the sect, the principal of which is, prohibition to eat the flesh of any land animal.

2. The religion derived from the Brahmins, transplanted from India to Japan. In Japan it also teaches the transmigration of souls, or that the souls of men and animals are identical in their kind, and that they animate sometimes the bodies of men and sometimes those of animals. The followers of this religion are therefore forbidden to kill any thing that has life. Theft, adultery, falsehood, and drunkenness, are also strictly forbidden. These commandments are truly good, but all the other rules in respect to abstinence and way of life, which the adherents of this faith must observe, are so absurd, and difficult, that there are probably few who are pious, and at the same time strong enough to go through one half of what this religion enjoins. On this account there are more bad people, as well among the clergy as among the laymen, in this religion, than in any other in Japan.

3. The religion of the Chinese, as it is called in Japan, or the doctrine of Confucius, which is highly esteemed by the Japanese. The greater part of the Japanese men of learning and philosophers follow this doctrine.

4. The adoration of the heavenly bodies. In this worship, the sun is considered the highest divinity ; next

follow the moon and stars. Almost every constellation forms a separate divinity. These divinities are sometimes supposed to be adverse to each other, and sometimes at peace ; now forming alliances by marriage, and now seeking to outwit and to injure each other ; in short, they have all human weaknesses, and live like men, only with the difference that they are immortal, and assume any shape they please. This religion gave origin to a sect who worship fire, and consider it as divinity derived from the sun.

The above particulars relating to the four religions of Japan, we learned from the Japanese themselves. I must, however, observe, that when our conversation turned on religious subjects, they answered our questions very unwillingly, and often pretended not to understand us, or gave quite unsatisfactory and unintelligible answers. Sometimes they did not answer us at all, but began to question us respecting our faith. As they would not permit us to learn to read and write, we had no means of penetrating more deeply into the knowledge of their creeds. Their religions, indeed, present such a combination of rational and absurd rules, or false and ridiculous traditions, ceremonies, &c., that the two years of our captivity would scarcely have sufficed to learn and describe all, even if we had been well versed in the language, and could have profited by the acquaintance and frankness of the inhabitants.

There are Free-thinkers among the Japanese, as among us, and perhaps they are as numerous. I have not heard that there were Deists among them, but there are Atheists and Sceptics. These deny the existence of a Supreme Being, ascribe the creation and government of the world all to chance, and doubt of everything. Our friend Teske was of this latter class : he frequently con-

versed with us respecting his opinions. According to his notion, man knows only what has happened to him, the past and the present; the future, both in this world, and after death, is eternally hidden from him; therefore, the doctrine of all religions on this subject is liable to the greatest doubts, and deserves no credit. Arguing on this ground, he affirmed, that man must not omit any opportunity in his life of enjoying whatever can afford him enjoyment; for it is highly probable that death puts an end to everything, and that man lives but once. Besides, in the enjoyment of all possible pleasures, we must endeavour to procure them to others, not out of fear of punishment after death, but that others may also endeavour to make our lives agreeable. In this manner, observed Teske, men must endeavour to afford each other every pleasure suitable to the taste and inclinations of each, of whatever kind they may be. But as it is not to be expected, that a whole nation should become philosophers, and comprehend this truth, and as the majority would probably make use of this doctrine only to the injury of others, it is absolutely necessary to deceive the common people, and convince them that there is a superior power which sees our most secret actions, and to which we must one day give a strict account of all the evil done to our fellow-creatures. In a word, he considered every religion as a fraud, necessary for the good of the people. We made our objections to such principles, but as Teske understood very little Russian, and we as little Japanese, our arguments entirely failed of producing any effect.

Curiosity induced me to ask whether it was allowed in Japan to speak freely and unreservedly on such subjects? "There is no law to forbid it," said Teske;

“but the hatred of the ecclesiastics falls upon him who rejects or ridicules their doctrines. Besides, they may accuse any one who seeks to turn people from the faith which they profess. If the accused be convicted, the government condemns him to imprisonment for a certain time. But if anybody preach the Christian, or any other foreign religion, he must die a cruel death.”

Teske and many other Japanese spoke very unfavourably of their priests. “The servants of our temples,” said they, “are, for the most part, licentious men, and though the laws command them to live temperately, to eat neither meat nor fish, to drink no wine, and have no wives: yet, in spite of these prohibitions, they live very intemperately, seduce women, and commit other enormities.”

The laws do not subject any one to punishment for the non-observance and violation of the precepts of religion, even the priests do not concern themselves about it. We knew several Japanese who made it a boast that they never visited a temple, and who ridiculed the religious customs.

The number of free-thinking Japanese is however very small, in proportion to the whole nation. The people are, in general, not only extremely bigoted, but very superstitious. They believe in sorcery, and love to converse on miraculous stories.* They ascribe to the fox all the properties and mischievous tricks which the common

* Some of the popular superstitions detailed by Kœmpfer and other writers, are curious. The people, in general, put great faith in amulets of all kinds. To keep off all distempers and misfortunes from their families, they place a monstrous picture over their doors of a human figure covered with hair, with a sword in each hand; also dragons' and devils' heads, with large mouths wide open, huge teeth, and fiery eyes. In some cases the branch of a sacred tree is hung at the door, or long slips of paper, with necromantic characters, supplied by the priests.

people in Europe attribute to Satan. According to Russian superstition, thunder kills with a stone arrow; in Japan it is a cat which is hurled down by the lightning. In Russia, when you praise any one, you must spit three times, lest he should fall sick; and if you hand any one salt at table, you must smile, to avoid quarrelling afterwards, &c. In Japan, nobody goes over a new bridge, for fear of dying, till the oldest man in the district, in which the bridge is situated, has been conducted over it. Among us, the ends of wax-tapers, which are left at the morning mass, on Sunday, are a protection against lightning; among the Japanese, peas, roasted in a pan, which they eat at a great winter festival, and of which they preserve a part for the summer, possess the same virtue. They affirm that, if, during a thunder-storm, some of these wonder-working peas are thrown against the walls of a house, the lightning cannot enter, and consequently everything in that house is perfectly safe.

In country places, every mountain, every hill, every cliff, is consecrated to some divinity; and in these sacred places travellers have to repeat prayers, and frequently to say the same prayers several times over. But, as the strict fulfilment of this duty would detain a pious traveller very long on his journey, the Japanese have devised a plan for obviating the inconvenience. On spots consecrated to divinities they set up posts, in case there are none already there, to mark the distances. In these posts there are long vertical openings, about an arsheen and a half above the ground, and within the openings flat round iron plates turn like sheaves in a block. On each of these plates is engraved a prayer, dedicated to the divinity of the place; and to turn the plate round is equivalent to

uttering the prayer, which is supposed to be repeated as many times as the iron plate turns round. In this manner the traveller is able, without stopping, and merely by turning the plate with his fingers, to send up even more prayers to the divinity than he is required to do.

I am not able to describe from my own observation any of the religious ceremonies of the Japanese, because they never could be induced to allow us to enter their temples during divine service; nor did they even speak of it. The little I know of it, and which I learned from our interpreters and others, is as follows. The prayers are repeated three times in the day—at daybreak, two hours before noon, and before sunset. The people are informed of the hours of prayer by the ringing of a bell. The mode in which the ringing is performed is curious. After the first stroke of the bell half a minute elapses, then comes the second stroke, the third succeeds rather quicker, the fourth quicker still, then follow several strokes in very rapid succession. After the lapse of two minutes, all is repeated over again in the same order. In two minutes more the ringing is performed for the third time, and then it ends. In front of the temples there are basins made of stone or metal, containing water, in which the Japanese wash their hands before they enter. Before the images of the saint, lamps or candles are kept burning; they are made of train oil, and the bituminous juice of a tree, which grows in the southern and middle parts of Nippon. The Japanese offer to the Gods natural or artificial flowers. The latter are made of coloured ribbons, or of paper. These flowers are hung before the images of saints, on the walls of the temples, and sometimes on the images themselves. Those who are very zealous in their devotions

offer money, fruits, rice, and other gifts, which are very welcome to the servants of the temples. But these voluntary donations are not deemed sufficient, and the servants of the temples wander about the towns, villages, and highways, demanding offerings for their Gods, and carrying sacks upon their shoulders, to contain the gifts they receive. They also sing hymns, deliver addresses, or ring a little bell, which every one has fastened to his girdle. In our walks about Matsmai, we often met them. During divine service the Japanese kneel with their heads bowed down, and their hands folded. When they repeat their prayers, they press their hands together, raise them so to their foreheads, incline their bodies several times, and pray in an under tone.

The difference of religions and sects in Japan, does not cause the smallest embarrassment either to the government or to private persons. Every citizen has a right to profess what faith he pleases, and to change it as often as he thinks fit. No one cares whether he does so from conviction, or from regard to interest. It frequently happens that the members of one family follow different sects; yet this difference of faith never occasions ill-will or disputes. The making of proselytes is also prohibited by the laws.

The spiritual emperor, or Kin-Rey, is the head of the ancient Japanese religion; but all the other sects cherish a pious adoration for him. He not only confers the highest ecclesiastical dignities, but he also bestows, on the superior officers of state, the dignity, or spiritual title of Kami, which the greatest men in the empire think it the highest honour to obtain. The Kin-Rey is invisible to all classes of the people, except to the individuals of his own

household, and the officers of the temporal emperor who are often sent to him. Once a year only, on the occasion of a great festival, he walks in a gallery, which is open below, so that everybody can approach and see his feet. He always wears silk garments, which, from the very first preparation of the silk, are manufactured by the hands of virgins. Each of his meals is brought to him in new vessels, which afterwards are broken. This, say the Japanese, is done, because nobody is worthy to eat out of the same vessel after him: if any one should happen to do so, either knowingly or by mistake, he is immediately put to death.

The Japanese priesthood is divided into several classes; and they have high priests.* One of these lived in Matsmai; he had a large house with a garden, which was surrounded by a rampart of earth, so that it had the appearance of a little fortress: this proves that the dignity is held in high honour. The Japanese told us, that his power over the priests extends only to religious affairs. If a priest commits a criminal offence, or is entangled in temporal affairs, he is tried and sentenced according to the laws, without any reference to the religious authority. During our residence at Matsmai, the governor caused a priest to be imprisoned for theft; he was condemned by the temporal judges, and executed. We told the Japanese that this was not the way in which we proceeded with our clergy in similar cases, but that we first degraded them from the ecclesiastical rank to which the church had

* It is said, that all the guardians of the temples of the ancient religion are laymen, many of whom marry, and live with their families in the vicinity of those holy edifices, wearing their sacerdotal habits only when engaged in their ceremonies.

consecrated them, and then delivered them to the temporal judge. They laughed at this, and said that the priest in question was a villain, who was not worthy to have his head upon his shoulders: the tribunals and the laws of his country had therefore condemned him, and so he lost his rank and his head at once, whether the religious government approved of it or not. The high priest of Matsmai never waited on the governor, but was obliged to receive him once a-year, in spring. This reception took place on a little island near Matsmai, in a temple dedicated to seven holy virgins.

There are also monks and nuns in Japan, but we could not learn on what footing the convents rest, or what are the rules of the orders. We heard only that the monks and nuns ought, according to their professions, to lead a very austere life. They, however, did not do so, but avowed their preference of the enjoyments of this life to the uncertain promises of the future.

CHAPTER IV.

Government of the empire—Temporal and spiritual emperors—The imperial succession—Promulgation of laws—Executive government—Public functionaries—Police—Navigation—Trade—Civil and criminal justice—Military affairs.

JAPAN has two sovereigns, styled by Europeans the emperors spiritual and temporal: I follow this designation, though without admitting their correctness. As regards the temporal emperor, he ought to be called the Emperor of Japan, for he is the sovereign of an empire, not, indeed, very great in extent, but very populous, and consisting of many independent principalities united under one sceptre. The dignity of the spiritual emperor has nowhere any parallel, and is peculiar to Japan; we cannot, therefore, distinguish it by the title of emperor, according to the ideas we attach to that term. In the ordinary affairs of state, the Kin-Rey, or spiritual emperor, has no share, and learns only occasionally by report what happens in the empire; but in cases of extraordinary importance, the temporal emperor must consult him; for example, on the change or introduction of a law on negotiations with foreign powers, declaration of war, &c. But

even on these occasions, the temporal emperor takes his measures betimes, and knows beforehand that the Kin-Rey will approve of his proposals. In short, the temporal emperors of Japan now proceed with the spiritual, as the more unprejudiced or powerful of the Catholic sovereigns formerly did with the popes, to whom, (after they had been wrought upon by threats or presents,) ambassadors were sent with feigned submission and humility, to implore the blessing of the holy father, and a bull: two things necessary for blinding the superstitious people. The temporal emperors, however, show externally the greatest respect to the spiritual. Personal interviews take place very rarely: the temporal emperor visits the spiritual sovereign only once in seven years, but they frequently send embassies to each other, on which occasions the temporal emperor always sends rich presents, which are acknowledged by blessings. This is, indeed, no more than equitable; for the temporal emperor has the revenues of the whole empire in his hands, whereas the spiritual emperor must be content with the revenues of his principality of Kioto. He governs this province as an independent prince (or *Damjo*, to use the Japanese term), only with this difference, that the princes maintain their military at their own expense; but the Kin-Rey has no soldiers. The force required for the internal tranquillity of the spiritual emperor's principality is maintained at the expense of the temporal emperor, on whom it depends; this measure gives the latter entire power over the spiritual emperor, a conclusion to which we should not be led by outward appearance. The two emperors observe, with the greatest exactness, the etiquette that prevails between them: thus, for example, the Kin-Rey always keeps some person, whom he nominates himself, at the

court of the temporal emperor, to watch over his conduct, and to remind him of his duties in case he should neglect them. Among these persons there are some ladies who superintend the conjugal affairs of the monarch and his consort, but this superintendence does not hinder his Japanese Majesty from keeping several concubines.

Among the marks of respect shewn by the temporal to the spiritual emperors, one is particularly remarkable. At the commencement of the new year, the temporal emperor is bound to send his spiritual brother an embassy, with presents. Among these presents there must be a white crane with a black head, which the Emperor himself has caught in hunting;* no engagement can exempt the monarch from his obligation, only sickness excuses him; but in that case, the heir to the throne, must perform the duty prescribed. Near the capital, Yeddo, there is an extensive valley, surrounded by mountains, and intersected by lakes and rivulets, in which nobody, except the Emperor and his successor, dare catch or kill birds under a severe penalty; the birds are therefore seldom disturbed in this valley, and it is, consequently, not difficult to catch a considerable number of them in a very short time.

In some respects the Japanese spiritual emperors might be compared with the popes, as those potentates formerly were, but in other respects the comparison will not at all hold good. The popes were elected; but the house of the Kin-Reys is hereditary. They are allowed to have twelve wives, that their race may not become extinct. The popes govern in their dominions as independent sovereigns; but

* The Japanese are very fond of hunting with falcons and hawks, in which they are skilful. They told us miraculous things of their hunters, who train these birds to a high degree of perfection.

the state of the Kin-Reys makes a constituent part of Japan, and is subject to the laws of the empire as well as the other principalities. Lastly, the popes were the heads of the predominant religion, or rather of the only one that was tolerated in all Catholic countries; on the other hand, the Kin-Rey is the head of a religion, which is professed by only a part of the Japanese nation, though his power extends over the priests of all the sects in Japan.

During our imprisonment, we were occasionally given to understand how little influence the spiritual emperor has in the affairs of government. We often evinced our chagrin at the tardiness with which our affair proceeded, and expressed our fears that even though the council, and the temporal emperor should resolve to set us at liberty, perhaps the spiritual emperor would not approve of their resolution, and it was quite uncertain when the affair would come to an end. To these complaints the Japanese generally answered: "You need not concern yourself about the decision of the Kin-Rey; if only the Kumbo-Sama (temporal emperor) resolves to let you go, the Kin-Rey will not overrule the resolution, because he does every thing that the other wishes." They also assured us, that the spiritual emperors were by no means of so much importance as formerly, and that their power was more fictitious than real.

When we were in Japan in the year 1813, we were told that the present dynasty of the Kin-Reys had governed, in a direct line two thousand four hundred and thirteen years: their regime therefore commenced six hundred years before the birth of Christ. Japanese history records the names and the years of accession of all the emperors in the course of the twenty-four centuries; their number is about one hundred and thirty. In the first twenty

centuries the Kin-Reys, or as the Japanese sometimes call them, Dairi or Jajosso, were in possession of undivided power. They were sovereigns in the fullest sense of the expression: but in the sequel, some military chiefs took advantage of the troubles in the empire, and began, partly by secret intrigue, and partly by open attacks, to set bounds to the despotic power of these sovereigns. They succeeded, and about two hundred and thirty years ago, a general, named Kumbo, usurped the administration of temporal affairs, and made it hereditary in his family. He left to the Kin-Rey only the administration of the spiritual affairs of all the sects in the empire, and the right to give his advice and his assent in important and unusual cases. The present temporal emperors are descended from this general; they are called by the Japanese Kumbo-Sama, *i. e.* "Ruler Kumbo." The division of the government between two emperors is therefore of little more than two hundred years standing.*

The dignity of both the emperors is inherited by the eldest of their male descendants. In ancient times, in default of male heirs in the dynasty of the spiritual emperors, their widows and daughters ascend the throne; but now, in default of male descendants, both emperors must adopt sons from princely families related to them.

The Japanese empire comprises many principalities (which are governed by the Damjos, or reigning princes), and of the provinces belonging to the Emperor himself. The administration of these provinces is entrusted to

* Some Japanese, who were less reserved to us than others, did not speak very much in honour of their present government. As one of its principal faults they mentioned, that the emperor troubled himself little about business, and would not examine anything with his own eyes; but that the princes had usurped too great an authority over their subjects.

governors. The number of reigning princes in Japan is more than two hundred. The possessions of most of them are but small, but some of them are extremely powerful: thus, for example, the Damjo of Sindai, when he comes to the capital, has a court and attendants amounting to sixty thousand persons. These princes govern their possessions as independent sovereigns: they have even the right to create new laws, but those laws apply only to their own dominions and do not apply to other parts of the empire; no ordinance can be put into execution without superior authority. Every Damjo is bound to keep a certain number of troops, which are at the disposal of the temporal emperor.*

The provinces which belong to the emperors are confided to governors (obunjos), and are occupied for their protection by soldiers from the neighbouring principalities. These soldiers are relieved every year.

The supreme council of the temporal emperor consists of five members, who must be reigning princes. This council decides all cases which occur in the usual course of events, without applying for the approbation of the Emperor; on the other hand, in uncommon cases, though

* The general laws of the empire are very few in number; but the princes and lords have officers appointed in every city to regulate the police, and direct public affairs. They exercise their power definitively, without any appeal to a superior court. The emperor's proclamations are always very concise. No reasons are ever assigned for the adoption of any measure, it being thought sufficient that the emperor himself should know the principle on which he founds his edicts. The mode by which public ordinances are promulgated, is singular. In every city, and in almost every village, there is a place shut up with gratings, from whence all the orders and edicts of the emperor are published. In each district the principal noble, or the governor of the province, notifies them in his own name; and for the convenience of the people, each proclamation is written in good legible characters, upon a board fastened to a post.

of little importance, nothing can be done without the Emperor; but in such cases the Emperor has not the right to decide without the approbation of the council. In this respect, the Japanese Government must be called a limited monarchy; but the Emperor has the power of changing the members of the supreme council at his pleasure. The Japanese emperors do not, however, venture to abuse this power, lest the princes should resist and revolt. How formidable the latter are to the emperors is evident from the precaution of obliging the wives and children of the princes always to reside in the capital, and the princes themselves alternately one year in the metropolis and the other in their dominions. The supreme council is called Gorodschi; the names of its members stand first in the Japanese court calendar, which is published yearly, and contains the names of the civil officers.

Besides this supreme council, there is another in Japan which may be called the senate, for it decides important criminal and civil causes. Cases of great importance are examined and decided in the senate, before they come before the supreme council. The senate consists of fifteen members, who may either be princes or nobles (chadamodos).*

These two branches of the government form the higher legislative authority, but they are subject to the indirect influence of the courtiers of the Emperor, whom the Japanese call Osobo-Kaschra. Among them the Emperor always has his favourites and confidants, whom he privately consults before he gives his decision upon any affair which the supreme council submits to him.

* The Chadamodos, who are the class of subjects next to the reigning princes, enjoy very important privileges.

In Japan, the business of government is divided into seven parts or sections, each of which, according to its importance and extent, is consigned to two or three ministers. These ministers are, like the governors, called *Obunjos* or *Bunjos*, only to that title is added the name of the section: for example—*Gogandschio-Bunjo*, *Bunjo* of Commercial Affairs; *Madzino-Bunjo*, *Bunjo* of Police, &c.* When the word *bunjo* means simply a governor, the name of the province governed is added to the title; as for example, *Nangasaky-Bunjo*, &c. Counsellors (*Ginmijagu*), and some other officers, are appointed as assistants to the ministers.

The several sections of the government are:

I. SECTION OF STATE ECONOMY AND REVENUE.

As the taxes in Japan are generally paid in tithes of the productions in kind, agriculture, manufactures, &c. are under the superintendence of the department that administers the public revenue.

II. SECTION OF NAVIGATION AND TRADE.

I here mean the inland trade, because the foreign is very inconsiderable, and is carried on solely for the advantage of the Emperor. The inland trade of Japan is very extensive, and is carried on chiefly by sea, as the nature of the country greatly facilitates maritime conveyance from one province to another. From the interior of the country to the sea-ports, and from those

* The word "*bunjo*" therefore signifies not only the dignity of a governor, but also of a minister and head of any important branch of administration.

ports to the interior, goods are mostly transported by rivers and canals: where that mode of communication is impeded by mountains, pack-horses and oxen are employed. The various climates prevailing in the Japanese possessions create a great diversity of productions, and an extensive traffic in them; consequently many large vessels, with numerous crews, are employed in the home trade.

III. SECTION OF PUBLIC WORKS.

This section superintends all public buildings throughout the empire, including temples and fortresses.

IV. SECTION OF THE POLICE.

This department of the Japanese Government is very important, because the suspicion of the Emperor, and his distrust of the reigning princes, obliges him to keep them under strict supervision, as well publicly as secretly, by means of spies. For this reason, the highest individuals in the empire, those who enjoy the utmost respect and confidence of both the Emperor and the people, are always at the head of the administration of the police.

V. SECTION OF CIVIL AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

In every principality, criminal or civil causes are decided according to the existing laws; but if they have reference to any other part of the empire, or are mixed up with the affairs of the state, they must be discussed and decided in this section. It is also the highest tribunal for cases of appeal and important criminal causes from

the imperial provinces, in case they are of such a nature that the power of the governor cannot decide them.

VI. SECTION OF MILITARY AFFAIRS.

It has the superintendence of all the imperial arsenals, foundries, and manufactories of arms. It requires the princes to maintain the fixed number of troops in their possessions in due order, and that the troops do not leave their garrisons. It is also the business of this section to see that the empire is kept in a state of defence.

VII. SECTION OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS.

I have already mentioned that the Kin-Rey has the uncontrolled superintendence of religious affairs, but his dispositions must not in the least infringe upon the power of the temporal emperor. In case this should happen, the latter employs the means which his power affords him to check his co-sovereign, for whose divine authority he has not the most profound respect.

CHAPTER V.

Laws and manners—Privileges of nobility—Military regulations—Social gradations—Middle and lower ranks—Domestic slavery—Legal institutions—Law-suits—Marriage ceremony—Female constancy in the married state—Restrictive policy—Japanese love of gardening—Court costume—Female attire—Dress of the men—Food—Temperance—Equipages—Mode of riding—Music, singing, and dancing—Theatrical representations.

THE inhabitants of Japan are divided into eight classes :—

1. Damjos, or reigning princes.
2. Chadamos, or nobles.
3. Bonzes, or priests.
4. Soldiers.
5. Merchants.
6. Mechanics.
7. Peasants and labourers.
8. Slaves.

FIRST CLASS.—The reigning princes do not all enjoy the same rights and privileges. Their power is greater or less, according to conventions and agreements. These

privileges refer, not only to matters of importance, but they even extend to the most insignificant points of etiquette and ceremony. Some princes, for instance, have the right to use saddle-cloths of beaver-skin when they ride on horseback; others have them of panther-skins, &c. But the greatest privilege of all consists in their governing their principalities as independent sovereigns, as far as the general laws of the empire allow, and is consistent with the welfare of the other parts of the empire.

The dignity of all the reigning princes is hereditary, and properly descends only to the eldest son; but a laudable ambition in the princes to have none but worthy successors, frequently causes them to break through this rule. Should the eldest son be disqualified from succeeding his father, the succession devolves on the second son. It not unfrequently happens that a prince is induced, by the incapacity of all his children, to deprive them of the succession, and to adopt the most worthy of the younger sons of another prince, whom he educates under his own eye, and leaves him his title and his possessions. The consequence of this practice is, that the reigning princes in Japan, are almost always sensible men, well versed in public affairs: hence, too, they are so formidable to the emperors, whose power they can always restrain within due bounds.

SECOND CLASS.—The nobility, also, enjoy very important privileges in Japan. All the places in the second council or senate, all the important offices of state, and the posts of governors in the imperial provinces, are filled up entirely from the nobility. If a war breaks out, the commanding generals are chosen from among the

reigning princes or the nobles. Every noble family has a particular distinction, and the right to keep a train of honour, which is made use of by the eldest of the family. The nobility is also hereditary, and descends to the eldest son, or, according to the will of the father, to the most worthy. If the father deems his own sons unworthy of this dignity, he may adopt a son from another family; hence, a worthless nobleman is a rare phenomenon, which only the too great love of a father for an undeserving son can render possible.

THIRD CLASS.—The ecclesiastics, who consist of priests and monks are very numerous in Japan, and are divided into several classes, having their particular privileges in the different sects.

FOURTH CLASS.—In the class of soldiers, the higher military officers must not be included, because in Japan they are chosen from the nobility, or from some other class, and they are all men who have already filled public offices in the civil departments. Every body who is in the service of the emperor or the princes must learn the art of war, that he may be able, in case of need, to be employed against the enemy. As the Japanese consider war merely a temporary affair, they do not dedicate their whole lives to military service. Besides, the situation of the empire, and the pacific policy of the government, often make it impossible for a series of generations, (as from grandfather to great-grandson,) to serve in the army. Every Japanese of distinction, therefore, endeavours to obtain a civil appointment, and also makes himself acquainted with the art of war, so that if required, he may be able to command the troops which are in garrison in the fortresses, or distributed in other places, for the

purpose of maintaining order and tranquillity among the people.

The posts of inferior military officers and privates are hereditary, and, therefore, they form a distinct class. No soldier, however old, obtains his discharge till he can bring a son to supply his place; and the son must have thoroughly learned everything belonging to the service. Boys are capable of bearing arms at the age of fifteen. If a soldier has more than one son, he is at liberty to devote them all, or only one, to the military profession; but, as in Japan, the service is easy, and the pay and rations good; soldiers in general let all their sons enter the army, in which they themselves serve to the end of their lives. Should a soldier have no son, he may adopt one, and train him to supply his place. The laws allow both soldiers and other classes of men to adopt three children, but if these die, no more can be adopted, as it is presumed to be against the will of the gods.

The military profession is held in great honour in Japan. The common people, and even the merchants, address soldiers by the title of *Sama*, which is equivalent to 'My Lord,' and show them all possible respect: Europeans who have visited Japan, have frequently mistaken common soldiers for persons invested with high offices. This is very natural, because, when European ships arrive, the soldiers generally put on silken dresses, embroidered with gold and silver. They receive Europeans proudly, and remain sitting and smoking tobacco while they speak with them. At the beginning of our captivity we fell into the same error: we believed that the Japanese feared us greatly, since they appointed officers to guard us. But when we

became better acquainted with these supposed officers, we found that they were merely private soldiers in the service of the Prince of Nambu.

All soldiers, privates as well as officers, are entitled to wear a sabre and dagger, like the chief official personages of the empire. In almost every village there are two or three soldiers, whose duty it is to preserve order, and to keep a watchful eye on the police officers. To cashier a soldier, or "Dossin," as he is called, is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted on him. The oldest soldier, or subaltern officer, who was on guard over us when we escaped, was degraded, but was afterwards allowed to return to the army in the rank of a common soldier: during this time he suffered his hair, beard, and nails to grow, and shewed in this manner his profound affliction. Japanese soldiers have a keen sense of honour.

FIFTH CLASS.—The mercantile class in Japan, are very extensive and wealthy, but not held in high honour. Merchants are not privileged to bear arms; but though their profession is not respected, their wealth is; for in Japan, as in Europe, riches supply the want of talents and dignity, and attain privileges and honourable appointments. The Japanese told us, that their officers of state and men of rank behave outwardly with great haughtiness to merchants, but, in private, are very familiar with the wealthy of that class, and are often under great obligations to them. We had with us, for some time, a young officer, who was the son of a rich merchant, and who, as the Japanese said, owed his rank not to his own merit, but to his father's gold: thus, though the laws do not favour the mercantile profession, yet its wealth raises it; for even in Japan, where the laws are so rigorously

enforced, they are often outweighed by the influence of gold.

SIXTH CLASS.—The Japanese do not comprehend the difference between mechanics and artists; therefore, the architect and the carpenter, the sculptor and the brazier, &c., belong, according to their notions, to one class: their rights and privileges are almost the same as those of the merchants, with the exception of those advantages which the latter acquire by their riches.

SEVENTH CLASS.—Peasants and labourers are the last class of the free inhabitants of Japan. In this class are included all persons who go into the service of others to gain their livelihood; for Japan is so populous, that a man who possesses the smallest piece of land does not cultivate it himself, but hires indigent labourers to do it for him. We had among our guards soldiers who possessed gardens, and paid labourers to cultivate them. They themselves employed their leisure hours in hunting, and sold the game they caught. In this seventh class is included sailors, whom the Japanese call Fäkscho-Sschto, viz.: labourers. The lower classes in general are denominated by them Madsino-Sschto, which being literally translated, signifies people who carry on their business in the streets.

EIGHTH CLASS.—The lowest class of the inhabitants of Japan are slaves. They are descended from the prisoners taken in ancient times in China, Corea, &c., and from children who have been sold by their parents as slaves, from poverty and inability to bring them up. This trade in children is still carried on; but the law for making prisoners slaves has been abolished since the time when the Christian religion was extirpated. Prisoners are kept in

confinement for life, a measure prescribed by one of the most ancient laws. They are thereby prevented from communicating their religion or their manners to the people. Slaves are entirely in the power of their masters.

I could not learn from our Japanese friends to what class the civil officers (who are nobles), physicians, and the younger children of the nobles belong. We were informed that these persons are respected in the state, have titles suitable to their rank, but that they form no particular class. Learned men and physicians wear sabres and daggers, like all official persons. But we could not learn whether they possess a civil rank or any dignity equivalent to it; we only heard that the eldest of the temporal emperor's two hundred physicians* was equal in rank to the Governor of Mastmai.

The Japanese compare their laws to an adamantine pillar, which neither climate, storms, nor time can destroy, or even shake. The government is well aware of the defects of the laws. One of the most prominent of these defects is the severity of punishments; but it is feared that any attempt to effect sweeping reforms at once, might cause the people to despise the ancient laws, and become accustomed to innovations. The inclination of the people to abolish ancient laws and manners, and to adopt new ones, may, in the opinion of the Japanese Government, prove ruinous to the empire, by causing

* This numerous retinue of physicians may not appear so very extraordinary, when it is mentioned, that besides the duty of attending the numerous imperial household, it is also their business to pick out every grain of rice for the emperor's table with a pair of tongs. This, probably, finds them plenty of employment.

revolutions, the consequences of which might be civil war and conquest by foreign powers. The ingenious policy of the government finds means to mitigate the rigour of the laws without impairing their strength or sacredness. Thus, for example, the Japanese criminal laws prescribe the use of torture to compel confession,* but the judges seldom resort to this tyrannical expedient. They endeavour to induce the accused, by exhortation, voluntarily to confess his guilt, or they seek to discover the truth by stratagem. If neither of these plans succeed, and should there still remain a doubt respecting the crime, the judge must endeavour to find reasons for the justification of the accused. The Japanese, therefore, employ torture only when a criminal, who is already convicted, will not confess. They proceed with the same humanity in cases where a trifling fault is to be visited with a severe punishment; the judges then endeavour to find reasons which serve to extenuate the crime in the eye of the law, or by suppressing some circumstances to establish the justification of the accused. On the occasion of our flight from prison, the conduct of the Japanese to our guards afforded confirmation of this fact.

In some cases, the Japanese laws allow the person injured to do himself justice. A man who takes his wife in adultery, may put her and the adulterer to death upon the spot; but he must be able to prove that the crime has been committed. A father has the same right over

* Amongst the various kinds of torture in use among the Japanese, I will mention only one. The accused is placed on his bare knees, upon a very blunt sabre, or bar of iron, and then stones are hung upon him, so that in proportion as the weight is gradually augmented, his sufferings are increased. This species of torture the Japanese consider mild compared with some others in use among them.

the seducer of his daughter, if she has been guilty of a similar crime. The life of an undutiful child is entirely in the power of the father.

Lawsuits are for the most part settled by arbitrators, chosen by the parties themselves. If they cannot succeed in arranging the affair, it is carried before the courts of justice.

It is seldom that lawsuits arise respecting the inheritance or division of property, because parents, who dispose of it at their pleasure, make arrangements in time. They seldom divide their property equally among their children; the eldest and worthiest of the sons generally obtain the largest share, and the others but a very small portion. The Jesuits and other early writers assert, that as soon as the eldest son of a family comes to the years of manhood, the parents retire, and place him in their stead; merely reserving as much wealth as will support them in their retreat, and enable them to educate and bring up their other children. The daughters do not receive any dowry, but on their marriage their husbands give them costly presents, which are immediately handed to the parents. Thus a man with several handsome daughters may consider his fortune made.

According to the laws, a Japanese can have only one wife, who, in the higher classes, must be of the same rank as the husband. Marriages are solemnized in the temples, with many ceremonies. But, besides this lawful wife, every one may have concubines, and as many as he pleases. These have, in some degree, the rights of wives, for their situation is not regarded as dishonourable. They live publicly and altogether in one house with the lawful wife and the husband. The latter has the right to separate from his wife whenever he pleases, without

being bound to give any reason for so doing ; but on this account, any one who is not likely to make a good husband must pay a large sum of money to a father for permission to marry his daughter.

The Japanese women seldom marry before their fifteenth year ; but they are marriageable at even an earlier age.

The negotiation for a wife, the betrothing, and the marriage, are celebrated by the Japanese with many strange and ridiculous ceremonies, and among the rich, with great pomp, on which occasions there is much drinking and rejoicing ; but the affection and apprehensions of parents frequently hinder them from freely indulging their joy at the marriage of their daughters. Our interpreter, Kumaddscherro, visited us the day after the marriage of his daughter, and he told us that he had wept very much. "Why have you wept," said we, "since on such occasions it is usual only to rejoice?" "Certainly," said he, "I should rejoice, were I but convinced that the man will love my daughter and make her happy ; but as the contrary often happens in the married state, a father who gives his daughter to a husband cannot be indifferent, for fear of future misfortune." He said this with tears in his eyes.

A very singular custom at the marriages of the Japanese is, that the teeth of the bride are blackened by some corrosive liquid. The teeth remain black ever after, and serve to show that a woman is married, or a widow. At the birth of every male child, a tree is planted in the garden or court-yard, and when it attains its full growth the man is declared to be of a marriageable age. When he marries, the tree is cut down, and the wood is made into

chests and boxes, to contain the clothes and other things prepared for the newly-married couple.

The Japanese may marry as often as they please. Marriages with sisters are prohibited; but a man may marry any other relative.

In general they are jealous; but this vice, if such it may be so called, prevails more among the great than among the middling and lower classes. The princes and the nobility, and the rich who imitate them, keep their wives almost constantly in rooms, to which no person of the other sex, except the nearest relatives, is admitted. This measure is, however, adopted by husbands, not so much from jealousy as pride. Women of the inferior classes may visit their relatives and friends, and appear in the streets and public places with their faces unveiled, but they must not converse with any person of the other sex in the absence of their husbands. On the whole, the jealousy of the Japanese cannot be compared to that of other Asiatic nations.

They devote much care to the education of their children. They instruct them early in reading, writing, religion, the history of their own country, and geography; and when of a proper age they are taught the art of war. But what is more important, children are taught from their earliest youth, the value of patience, modesty, and politeness: virtues which the Japanese practice in a remarkable degree, and which we often had occasion to admire in them. In my Narrative I have frequently mentioned with what patience and mildness they treated us, and listened to our justifications, reproaches, and even bitter expressions; though, to say the truth, the right was on their side. To be loud in dispute is considered,

by them, as rude and vulgar. They express their opinions humbly, and as if seeming to doubt the correctness of their own judgment. They never make direct contradictions, but always with circumlocution, and frequently adducing examples and comparisons, as the following instances will serve to shew.

We blamed their policy in avoiding all intercourse with other nations, and represented to them the advantage which the people of Europe derived from reciprocal connections; mutually profiting by each other's inventions and discoveries, and by the exchange of their productions, promoting industry and activity. We pointed out to them that the inhabitants of Europe enjoy many pleasures and comforts, of which they would be deprived, if European sovereigns, like the rulers of Japan, were to abolish all intercourse with other countries; in short, we employed in favour of our system, and to the disadvantage of that of Japan, the strongest arguments we could think of. The Japanese listened to us with attention; praised the judicious policy of the European governments, and seemed by our reasoning to be entirely converted to our opinion. But by degrees they turned the conversation to the subject of war, and asked us, "How it happened that in Europe five years never passed without war? and why, when two nations quarrelled, many others took part in the dispute, and thus made the war general?" We replied, that near neighbourhood and continued intercourse often gave rise to disputes, which cannot always be amicably settled; particularly when interest or pride are concerned: but when one nation obtains too great a preponderance over another, the rest, fearing that it may also become formidable to them, join the weaker against the more powerful.

They enquired how many states there were in Europe? After we had mentioned them all by name, they observed, that "if Japan and China entered into closer connection with European powers, and imitated their political system, there might be more frequent wars and more blood-shed." "That might probably happen," answered we. "Then in that case," they rejoined, "it will, perhaps, be more advisable, and will tend more to diminish human misery, if Japan abide by her old rules, and decline engaging in those connections and treaties with Europe, of the value of which you try to convince us." I confess I was not able to give a satisfactory answer to this unexpected objection; and was forced to say, that my ignorance of the Japanese language disabled me from proving the truth of our assertions. But even had I been a Japanese orator, I should probably have found some difficulty in refuting this argument.

At other times, when we dwelt on the advantages of Europeans, and the many pleasures which were quite unknown in Japan, they expressed a wish to spend a few years in Europe. They then turned the conversation again on Japan; and said, that there were in that empire two neighbouring towns, which they named to us, of which the one was very large, and the other, on the contrary, very small. In the greater, the inhabitants were rich, and had abundance of necessaries and luxuries, but they unhappily lived in constant quarrels, and there were so many bad men among them, that people durst not venture in the streets at night, for fear of being murdered. In the small city, there was nothing more than was necessary, and the inhabitants lived all like brethren among themselves, and no quarrel was ever known. But as we gave the preference to the small city over

the large one, they compared Europe and Japan with those two cities, and, perhaps the comparison was not entirely without reason.

In their intercourse with each other, the Japanese are extremely polite, and the young shew great respect to the old. Their usual complimentary salutation is bending the knees; but if they wish to show any one particular honour, they kneel down, and bow their bodies to the ground. But this is only done within doors; in the streets they merely make a motion as if intending to kneel. When saluting a person of rank, they bend the knees so as to be enabled to touch the ground with their fingers. They then address the individual by name, while they draw in their breath, as for example: "Ai! Sampe Sama," (Ah! my Lord Sampe.) If saluting one of their equals, they bend the knees, bow, and lay the palm of the hand on the knee, saying: "Ai! Koniddschi," (Ah! to day!) which in the Japanese language expresses a welcome. Or they say: "Ai! tenki-ioi, Ai! tenki-wari," (Ah! good weather; Ah! bad weather) or "Gogro-degusar," which means literally to have a heart, and answers to our, How fares it? When two Japanese meet, and after the first compliments are interchanged, they inquire with great ceremony and many bows, respecting each others health, relations, &c. Our sentinels never relieved each other without the interchange of these ceremonies and compliments. At parting they repeat the same bows, and fix the time when they hope to meet again, as for example: "Ai! Kogonotz!" (Ah! nine o'clock!) or "Ai! Mionidschi!" (Ah! to-morrow, &c.), these phrases are equivalent to our Good-bye.

In building, the Japanese use stone only for foundations, as they fear the violent earthquakes to which their

country is liable. The wooden houses are generally only one story high, and are built very slightly, on account of the warm climate. The interior partitions, which divide the rooms, are moveable, so that they may be taken away; thus a whole house may be made into one room. The Japanese have no stoves; and they do not require them. They have their fires in little neat chafing dishes; the poor people kindle theirs on the hearths. The rooms contain no furniture. The floor is covered with clean and handsome mats, over which they often lay carpets, or cloths. Arms of different kinds, porcelain vessels, and curiosities adorn the inside of the houses. The walls are covered with coloured or gold paper; and in the houses of the rich, they are inlaid with various kinds of rare wood, curiously carved and gilt. The outside of the houses is almost destitute of ornament, and the difference between the houses of the rich and those of poor people, independently of the size, is that the former stand in spacious court-yards, surrounded by a high wall or mound of earth, so that only the roofs are seen from the street. All rich people have besides large gardens attached to their houses. The Japanese, in general, are great lovers of gardens, and spare no pains in their cultivation. The great beauty of the Japanese houses consists in their extraordinary cleanliness, a point to which all ranks pay especial attention.

The streets of the Japanese towns are extremely narrow, and as the houses, except those of the rich, stand closely together, fires are generally very destructive, though nothing is easier than to pull down a Japanese house, as it consists only of beams and thin boards.

The town police maintains peace and order amongst the inhabitants. Besides the civil and military officers,

who have to provide for the security of the inhabitants, an elder, with assistants, are chosen from among the citizens in every street, and they are answerable for the preservation of peace and order in that street. On the public market-places, and at points where several streets meet, guard-houses are erected, which contain fire-engines and guards. During the night frequent patrols go through the streets, and nobody must then be seen without a lantern. A body of men is kept in readiness for the extinguishing of fires. In Yeddo, the capital of the temporal emperor, the number of these firemen is no less than forty-eight thousand. They are divided into forty-eight regiments, and each regiment bears the name of a letter of the Japanese alphabet, which is also embroidered on the clothes of the men as a badge.

All Japanese, except the clergy, wear clothes of one and the same form, and all ranks, without exception, cut their hair after the same fashion. Those who have the right of appearing at court on New Year's Day, when they pay their respects to the Emperor, wear the long Chinese dress. It is only worn on that occasion, and on no other, for though the Japanese are permitted to wear the usual Chinese dress, very few of them make use of that permission. The father of our interpreter, Teske, wore the Chinese dress, and did not shave his beard, and we saw that everybody in Japan might dress after the Chinese fashion, except official persons and servants. The men shave the head and beard, but leave the hair long over the temples and in the neck; they bind it together with a thin white lace at the back part of the head; then they bring it forward in a tuft, and bind it an inch and a half farther forward, with the same lace, so that it lies closely

upon the skull. The Japanese beaux use a very fine pomatum, and are careful to make the hair lie very even and regular, so that it forms a solid mass. The hair-tuft is esteemed to be perfect, when it resembles a four-cornered piece of japanned wood, with openings at the top, and at both sides. The Japanese hair-dressers very expert in giving the hair this peculiar form.

The female head-dress resembles the old-fashioned head-dress of European ladies, except that the Japanese women do not wear powder. They ornament the hair with flowers and ribands, and also with gold or silver bodkins. The hair of children under five years old is cut every year differently: some have a circle of hair left round the head, and the rest cut away; others keep a tuft of hair upon the crown of the head, which is braided with riband. Occasionally, the hair is shaved from the crown of the head, and left only on the temples and in the neck, and braided with ribands, or artificial flowers.

The dress of both men and women, in Japan, resembles our loose dressing-gowns, but without collars. The sleeves reach only a little below the elbow, and are as wide as those of priests' gowns. The ends of these sleeves are sewed up, so that they form bags, which the Japanese use instead of pockets. The usual dress of the Japanese is called a *chiramon*. They sometimes wear five or six of these garments over one another, and they are fastened by a girdle that goes twice round the waist.* Persons

* Those who are privileged to wear a dagger, or a sabre and dagger, put them in the girdle on the left side. Soldiers have a belt, but do not wear their arms like ours, but slip them into a girdle.

even of moderate fortune wear silk dresses, particularly on holidays; the rich wear materials still more costly; the common people generally wear cotton. Dresses made of hemp are worn by the lowest classes only, and by labourers while at work. The Japanese have no shirts; but instead of them the richer class of people wear white gowns, made of the finest cotton stuff, over which they then put the *chiramon*, and fasten it with a girdle. When a Japanese finds a room too warm, he pulls off his upper gown, and lets it hang down at his back, confined by the girdle; if this is not enough, the second and third gown are pulled off, and he keeps on only one: when he feels too cold, the gowns are put on again one at a time. The women, from vanity, wear a still greater number of garments one over another; their number often amounts to twenty, as the Japanese themselves assured us. But these gowns are made of very fine stuff. The women confine their dresses at the waist in the same manner as the men, except that their girdles are much broader, and the ends hang down lower. Another kind of Japanese gown is called the *chauri*. Its shape is the same as that of the *chiramon*, but it is longer and much wider, and is therefore worn over all others, and without a girdle. These gowns are properly state dresses. The *chiramon* is worn only for walking in the streets, or for visiting an intimate friend. For more formal visits, etiquette requires that the *chauri* should be worn. It must have the family arms embroidered on the sleeves, breast and back. The *chiramon* is generally without these ornaments.

The third kind of Japanese dress is called the *kapa*. This is an upper dress, which is worn in the streets during

cold weather, and is always taken off in the house. It resembles the chauri, but the skirt is longer, and it may be made of any kind of coarse stuff. The Japanese do not wear trowsers, except in their military costume, or when travelling. Officers in the civil departments wear trousers on holidays, or when they present themselves to their superiors. Those worn by the military are like Turkish trousers, but not quite so wide, and are made of a strong silk stuff. Travelling trousers are made of silk or of cotton. They are wide, and without buttons; but have kneebands, and are fastened round the waist with straps.

With respect to the third kind of Japanese trousers, which are properly part of the state dress, they exactly resemble a woman's petticoat. The Japanese, indeed, wear them over their long gowns; the only difference between these trousers and a petticoat is that they are narrower at the lower than at the upper part, and that they are stitched together in the middle almost to the knees, so that this seam separates the two legs. The Japanese are very extravagant in this part of their dress. When we appeared before the governors, they and the principal officers wore different trousers almost every day. They were made of thick silk, like *gros de Tours*, and were sometimes green, sometimes blue, lilac, or other colours. The upper dress was always black.

The Japanese do not wear stockings, except when travelling: they call them Kafan. They are generally woven of strong cotton, or made of cotton stuff, sewed together. There is a place for the great toe like the finger of a glove: this is required by the form of the Japanese shoes.

These shoes have soles of straw, or slips of wood.* Those most usually worn are called Sori, and are nothing more than soles woven of rice straw. From one side of the sole to the other there is a band of the same straw, of the thickness of a finger, so that the foot is put through it; from the middle of this band to the fore end of the sole there runs a similar band, which is put between the second and great toe: in this manner the Sori keeps firm to the foot. The Japanese are so used to these shoes that they put them on with the greatest ease, as we do our slippers, and they wear them without stockings; but the use of the Sori causes a great separation between the first and second toes. These Sori are worn by men, women, and children. Rich people have them handsomer, and better woven; with welts of shamoy leather, and with the bands stitched round with the same leather. The common people wear the ordinary straw Sori.

The Japanese travelling-shoes are called Waransi. These are Sori of straw, only stronger and simpler; and they are fastened to the feet with thin straps. Stockings are always worn with these shoes. The third kind of shoes are only put on in wet and muddy weather. They consist of thin slips of light wood; and on the under part of the sole two cross pieces of wood are fastened, which raise the feet from the ground. At the top are two laces,

* Thunberg observes, that the shoes of the Japanese are made of rice straw, plaited, and are by no means strong. Their cost is very trifling—merely a few copper coins; and they are the articles, apparently most exposed for sale in the different villages. Those in common use are without strings; but fitted with them for travelling. It is common for travellers to carry two or three pairs with them; and old worn-out shoes which have been thrown away, are constantly seen lying by the roadsides, especially near rivulets or pools of water.

by means of which they are kept fast to the foot. The rich have these shoes japanned or painted, and the band is sewed round with leather; the poor people have them of common wood. The Japanese walk with the greatest ease and very quickly in these Waransi; when the ground is slippery, they use a stick. Shoes of this kind are extremely convenient, as they can be very quickly put off and on, and it is the custom always to leave them at the door, and to enter the house only in stockings, or bare-footed. Even in our prison, high official persons took off their shoes at the threshold. The shoes were generally received by a servant, who presented them to the owners on their departure.

The Japanese wear nothing round the throat, which, together with a part of the breast, are uncovered. When they find it cold, they wrap themselves up in their gowns. Gloves are not used; if the hands are cold, they are slipped into the long sleeves. Hats are worn only in very hot or in rainy weather. The crown of the hat is so small that only the tuft of hair can go into it. The brims are very broad, and the hats are, therefore, tied with ribbons under the chin, to prevent them from falling off. The common people wear straw-hats; the rich wear leathern or wooden ones, which are japanned or painted, and sometimes even gilded. But, in general, the Japanese like to go bare-headed, even in the sun. If the sun be troublesome, they shade the head with a fan, and they always carry one or two fans about them in summer. When they are not using their fans, they slip them into their girdles, where they have also an ink-stand and a case for pencils. They wear in the bosom a kind of pocket-book, with paper, money and medicines; with the latter no Japanese is ever unprovided. Black is the colour most worn: the

upper dresses of rich people are almost always black. White is not worn, because it is a sign of mourning.

The Japanese eat very little in comparison with Europeans. Each one of us when in prison ate as much as two natives, and when we travelled, three Japanese would certainly have been amply provided with what one of our sailors consumed. Their chief food is rice, fish, herbs, roots, fruits, fungi, shell-fish of every kind, pease and beans.* The flesh of swine, deer, bears, and hares, is eaten by a few sects only: the same may be said of birds, which are, besides, extremely dear. I have had already frequent occasion to speak of Japanese repasts, and will, therefore, now only mention what I have not had before an opportunity to notice. The rich, as well as the poor, spend but little in eating and drinking; they are extremely temperate, seldom invite company, and very rarely have great entertainments. Their greatest luxury consists in having many servants.† Every person of any consideration must have, besides servants, a large house-

* Many articles of food admired by the Japanese are not likely ever to become grateful to European palates. Among these is the *ika*, a species of common polypus, and also the *jako*, with long tails fixed on the feet; at the ends of which are little hooks, to enable it to hang on the rocks. These are eaten raw, boiled, or potted, like anchovies, and considered as a most delicious relish. Some of these polypi are said to be so large, that it requires two men to lift one of them. The Jesuit writers assert that the Japanese far excel all their neighbours in the preparation of various beverages; and that, in their cooking, they possess the secret of giving the most delicious flavour to the most insipid viands.

† The fidelity and affection of servants in Japan have been described as most extraordinary. They literally follow their masters to the grave; for whenever a man of any rank dies, a certain number of his domestics always commit suicide, in order, as they say, to attend him with their services in the next world.

hold ; consisting of secretaries, physicians, pages, &c. On solemn occasions, he cannot appear without a great train suitable to his rank.

As for the lower orders of the Japanese, I believe there is scarcely a people in the world who could live upon so little : in this respect, perhaps the Chinese alone may be compared with them. A native of Japan is satisfied, for the whole day with a handful of rice and a piece of fish, of so small a size that he can put it into his mouth all at once. With this he eats herbs or roots, or picks up shell fish, and prepares from them a savoury and wholesome meal. The Japanese, indeed, fully exemplify how little is really necessary for the support of man.

The rich Japanese make a great show of their equipages. The princes and most distinguished people have carriages which resemble those used in Europe in former times, and which were introduced into Japan by the Dutch. They are often drawn by horses, but for the most part by oxen. Chairs, like the sedan chairs of Europe, are also used. The Japanese ride on horseback, but consider it vulgar to hold the bridle themselves : the horse must be led.

We once saw the governor of Matsmai ride on horseback to a temple, where he must go once every year in spring to offer thanksgiving. The high priest, with the other priests and officers who were required to be present, had preceded him. He rode alone, without ceremony, and a small retinue attended him on foot. To the horse's bit there were fastened, instead of the bridle, two light blue girdles, which two grooms held fast on each side of the animal's mouth. The ends of these girdles were held by two other grooms, who proceeded at a little distance from

the others, so that these four men occupied almost the whole road. The tail of the horse was contained in a light blue silk bag. The governor, dressed in his usual clothes, in which we had often seen him, sat without his hat, upon a magnificent saddle, and with his feet in wooden japanned stirrups, which resembled little boxes.* The grooms who held the horse at the bit, continually cried: *Chai, chai* (softly, softly), however, they urged on the horse and made it leap and move quickly; the governor then stooped and held fast the saddle with both hands. A file of soldiers, with two sergeants, proceeded a little in advance of him, and though nobody was in the way, they continually called out: "Make room! make room!" The governor was followed by his armour-bearers, who carried all the insignia of his dignity in cases; this was to signify that the governor was *incognito*.

The Japanese are always good-humoured and cheerful. I never saw those with whom we were acquainted melancholy. They are fond of lively conversation, and jesting; they always sing when at work, and if the work is of such a kind, that it can be performed to the measure of a tune, such as rowing or carrying burthens, they sing. They are lovers of music and dancing. They have an instrument which resembles a recumbent harp; also a kind of violin, flutes of various kinds and a drum. The Japanese spoke of many other kinds of musical instruments which were in use among them, but they were not to be found in Matsmai, and I could not comprehend what kind of instruments they were. Notwithstanding the

* I have seen in Spain and Portugal stirrups which resemble the Japanese; and also rode many times with them. They are not very elegant, but are convenient, particularly for bad riders.

cheerful character of the Japanese, their songs are somewhat melancholy and plaintive. When singing, their movements always correspond with the words; the attitudes of the singer are therefore very frequently ridiculous. They make horrid grimaces, distort their features, and turn up their eyes. Sometimes they seem to be laughing with one side of the face, and crying with the other. During our stay at Chakodade, we had a servant who was said to be a great dancer; we were told that he had even danced on the stage, and had received much approbation from the public. This virtuoso danced before us, and thereby gave our guards extraordinary pleasure.

The Japanese love dramatic representation, and there is a theatre at Matsmai. It was many times promised that we should see a piece performed, but we never did. Probably permission was refused by the government in the capital; for had it depended only upon the Bunyos, they would certainly have afforded us this pleasure, as they were so well disposed towards us, particularly Arrao-Madsimam-Kami, of whose kind feeling I have often spoken in my narrative.

We were, however, several times taken into the theatre during the daytime, that we might see the interior arrangements. It is a large, and pretty high building; at the back is the stage, which, as with us, has a raised floor. From the stage to the front wall, where the entrance is situated, two rows of seats are placed for the spectators. In the middle, where we have the pit, there is a vacant space, in which straw mats are laid down for the spectators. As this place is much lower than the stage, those in front do not intercept the view of those behind. There is no orchestra, either because the Japanese perform no music in their theatres, or because the musicians are reckoned among the actors.

Opposite the stage, where, in our theatres there is the emperor's box and the galleries, there are only a bare wall and the door for the entrance. There were no ornaments in the interior; the walls were not even painted. The dresses and decorations are kept in a separate building. The subjects of their plays are chiefly memorable events in their own history, but they have also other representations which are of a comic nature, and serve to amuse the public.

Among the amusements of the Japanese may be reckoned their pleasure-boats or yachts, which are very magnificent and expensive. They are constructed in any style, according to the taste of the owner, and are often of cedar. Though principally built for rowing, yet they generally have two decks, the first of which is low and flat, and the other filled up with windows, and screened off into several cabins. Their ornaments and flags are numerous and grotesque. The rich are fond of water parties, but only on the rivers and canals, or between the islands; they do not venture to go to a distance from the coasts, for fear of being carried away by the wind, as their merchant ships frequently are.

The Japanese are quick in learning, and possess not only drawings, but models of European vessels; but as they will not introduce among themselves any foreign improvements, they lose every year a great many ships and seamen. The extraordinary population of Japan causes this loss of life to be little cared for by the government.

CHAPTER VI.

Productions of the country—Agriculture—Manufactures—Fisheries—
 Making of salt—Cotton—Silk—Copper—Iron—Timber—Tea—To-
 bacco—Horses—Cattle—Hemp—Lead—Tin—Pearls—Marbles—
 Fruits, vegetables, &c.—Domestic animals—Poultry—Wild animals—
 Birds, fish, &c.—State of the fine arts—Foreign trade—Custom-houses
 —Smuggling regulations—Coinage—Paper currency—Trade with the
 Chinese and Dutch.

THOUGH the Japanese possessions extend over only a few degrees of latitude, yet the climate of the country is uncommonly diversified. The cause of this is the peculiar situation of the country. This diversity of climate causes great variety in the productions of the soil. The principalities of Tzyngaru, Nambu, and the island of Matsmai, with other northern possessions, where the ground is covered with snow about five months togethér, produce many plants that belong to the frigid zone; and in the southern possessions of Japan, the fruits of tropical climates are found to flourish.

As I had no opportunity of visiting the principal islands belonging to Japan, I cannot speak of their productions from my own knowledge. I can only repeat what I have heard from the Japanese, and describe what I could infer

from their way of life, and what I saw of the articles imported into the island of Matsmai.

The chief and most useful productions of Japan are : rice, fish, radishes, salt, cotton, silk, copper, iron, timber, tea, tobacco, horses, oxen, hemp, and a tree which they call kadzy ; gold and silver, lead, quicksilver, and sulphur.

Rice is the chief production, and nearly the only article the Japanese use for bread. It is to them what rye is to us : nay, it is even more important, for there are many persons in Russia who eat no rye bread ; in Japan, on the contrary, everybody, from the monarch to the beggar, lives on rice. Besides, throughout Japan, rice-straw is used for making shoes, hats, floor mats, mats for sacks, and for packing-up goods ; it is also employed for manufacturing a kind of writing paper, and many other things of less consequence, but useful for domestic purposes, such as baskets, brooms, &c. The Japanese extract from rice a kind of brandy or wine, and the weak liquor called sagi.

Fish is in Japan what butchers' meat is in Europe, but much more important, because we eat many kinds of meat and also fish ; whereas, in Japan, but few people eat meat, except the priests, and all, without exception, eat fish. Besides, they light their houses with fish oil, which is made in great quantities in the northern parts of Japan. Only the rich burn candles.

The radish supplies the place of our cabbage, and is used in soup in various ways ; salted radish is also used instead of salt, as a seasoning for food. Whole fields are sown with radishes. The Japanese are so used to radish soup, that a scarcity of this plant would be very distressing to them.

Salt is not only indispensable for their daily use, but it serves also for curing fish. The chief fisheries are on the coasts of the Kurile Islands and Sagaleen, whence many hundred ships annually bring fish to the ports of Japan. Two methods are employed for preserving fish, salting and drying; but the large fish cannot be so dried as to remain long fit for food in so warm a climate.

Silk and cotton, besides the uses to which they are generally applied, also supply the place of our wool, hemp, flax, down, feathers, and furs; for all articles of clothing worn in Japan are made of these two substances. Cotton stuff is used for making travelling cloaks, cases for arms, and tobacco-pouches, which are varnished in such a manner that they look like leather.

Copper and iron are as necessary in Japan as in Europe. Besides the ordinary uses to which we apply copper, the Japanese cover with that metal the roofs of houses, which they desire particularly to preserve. They also cover with the copper, outer joists of their buildings, that the rain-water may not penetrate. Tobacco pipes are also made of copper. A very large quantity of iron is used for nails; for the Japanese houses consist of boards nailed together, within and without, to upright pillars, which are joined by cross beams; every little box too, however inconsiderable, is fastened together with nails.

In so populous a country as Japan, where frequent and violent earthquakes render it dangerous to erect buildings of stone, timber may be reckoned among the chief necessities of the people.

Tea and tobacco, it may be thought, could be easily dispensed with; but custom and fashion often operate as strongly as nature. Next to food, tea and tobacco are, above everything, necessary to the Japanese, who smokes

his pipe continually, and sips tea with it. His little pipe is filled every five minutes, and after a few puffs it is laid down. Even during the night, the Japanese get up for a few minutes to smoke tobacco and drink a cup of tea.

The Japanese do not use the flesh of horned cattle for food, because they have a prejudice against it; but they keep some oxen as well as horses for draught.

Hemp is manufactured into coarse cloth for workmen's dresses, and for the sails of ships; but cables and ropes are made of the tree called kadzy, without tar or any other resinous matter. Hence their ropes are not comparable, either in strength or durability, with those made of hemp; but they are good enough for their limited voyages. Besides, the cheapness of the material admits of these ropes being very frequently renewed. From the bark of the kadzy are also made thread, lamp-wicks, a kind of cheap cloth, writing-paper, and the paper for Japanese pocket-handkerchiefs.

Gold and silver, so far as they serve for ornament and luxury, cannot indeed be reckoned among the necessaries of life; but if we consider the means which they afford as money, for purchase and the exchange of home productions, they may certainly be numbered among necessaries, and on this account I mention them here.

Lead, tin, and quicksilver may also be reckoned important necessaries, as they are required in the refining of gold and silver, and also in the manufacture of arms. Sulphur likewise may come under the head of necessaries.

Rice grows in such great abundance in the central part of the island of Nippon, that, notwithstanding the vast population of the country, the Japanese have no need to import it. It is true they receive rice from China, but

only by way of precaution against scarcity. The northern provinces of Japan, viz. : the principalities of Nambu and Tzyngaru, are poor in rice, and receive it, for the most part, from other countries. It is not cultivated in Matsmai, Sagaleen, and the Kurile Islands, because it does not thrive in those places, owing to the cold climate. We saw, indeed, pieces of land sown with rice in Matsmai, in a valley near Chakodade, but our guards told us that it was only done for experiment.

The Japanese boil rice into a kind of thick gruel, which they eat at all their meals instead of bread. From rice-flour they prepare cakes and divers kinds of pastry resembling our confectionary. But rice is not the only bread-corn of the Japanese. They have also barley, which is sometimes used as forage for horses. Cakes and other things are made from barley-meal. Maize is used as food in various ways ; sometimes whole ears are roasted, and the grain is eaten. Beans are a favourite dish of the Japanese ; they sometimes eat them merely boiled in water, sometimes in treacle or soy ; small beans are often boiled with thick rice, and are considered a great delicacy. The Japanese soy is also prepared from beans, and turned sour in casks. They say that three years are required for preparing the best soy. Sweet and common potatoés are also cultivated in Japan, but they want land to plant them. The Japanese sweet potatoés are quite different from those I saw in other parts of the world, as in Portugal, in the island of Madeira, in Brazil, &c.* They resemble in size our largest European

* Thunberg says, that in the environs of Nangasaky he saw in the vicinity of every village, amongst the hills, large ranges of sloping grounds covered with the batatas, or *convolvulus edulis*. They are mealy,

potatoes, but they are a little longer. The skin is dark red, the inside white, the taste agreeable, and they have the odour of the rose. Peas in Japan are only a garden plant. In so confined and populous a state as Japan, and such a climate, no corn, except rice, can be in general use, because only rice can grow in so limited a space in sufficient abundance.

I cannot exactly state what kinds of fish are caught in the southern and central parts of the coasts of Japan, and in the rivers; but on the coasts of Matsmai, Kunashier, Eetooroop and Sagaleen, almost all the different kinds of fish common in Kamtschatka are caught in great quantities. There is no kind of marine animal, save those which are poisonous, that the Japanese do not use as food; whales, sea-lions, all kinds of seals, porpoises, and sea-bears, furnish them with palatable food. Throughout all the Japanese possessions there is no coast without fisheries, which employ a number of people. On the coast, the fish are caught in great nets, in the seas with lines.*

and much more agreeable to the taste than the common potato, or *solanum tuberosum*, as cultivated in Japan. The latter, Thunberg says, succeeds but indifferently.

* There is a large flat fish with a long tail, at the end of which is a piece of bone or horn, considered by the Japanese as an infallible cure for the bite of a serpent. Gold-fish, of the most beautiful kinds, are found on many parts of the coast; also silver fish, which are caught and preserved in ponds, and fed with worms and flies. Eels are frequently found in the rice grounds; and the Japanese believe that they may be produced by cutting straw, mixing it with mud, and exposing it to the warmth of the morning sun. There is another curious fish—curious, at least, from the descriptions of the Spanish Jesuit missionaries, who call it *todo noero*, “a small fish covered with hair, with four feet, like hogs’ feet; from whence we may suppose it to be a species of seal.” This is the fish whose oil is said to prevent ebriety.

The Japanese do not, like Europeans, venture to kill whales in the open sea, but they catch them in creeks, and close to the coast, in very strong nets. Dead marine animals, which the waves cast on shore, are used as food, even by people of the highest class.

The Japanese radish is, in form and taste, very different from ours; it is thin and extremely long, sometimes two arsbeens in length. Its taste is not very bitter, but sweetish, almost like our turnips. Whole fields are covered with it. A great part of the crop is salted, the other part is buried in the ground for winter and boiled in soup. Not even the radish leaves are wasted: they are boiled in soup or salted, and eaten as salad. The fresh leaves of this plant are warmed by fire till they smoke, and then put in a packet of tobacco. This, say the Japanese, prevents the tobacco from drying up, and gives it an agreeable smell and taste.

Salt, as I have before observed, is a grand article of consumption in Japan.* The Japanese informed us, that they had rock-salt, but only in small quantities; and as it is brought from the interior of the empire, and not easy of conveyance, very little of it is used. In general, sea-salt is used in almost all parts of Japan; its preparation is facilitated by the extraordinary saltiness of the sea-water near the tropics, and by the evaporation produced by the heat. The Japanese have, therefore, large pits on the coast, into which they let the sea-water flow when the

* Kœmpfer mentions that in some provinces salt is made, in the first instance, not by evaporating, but by pouring sea-water upon sand, until saturated; after which the sand is washed, and the lye boiled in pots until it crystallizes.

tide is up ; the evaporation leaves a thick sediment, from which they boil their salt.

According to the description of the Japanese, their cotton must be of the same kind as I have seen in the English West Indian colonies, that is, it grows on small trees, about five or six feet high. They have, however, other kinds of cotton, but I was not able sufficiently to understand their descriptions. The country must produce an immense quantity, as almost all the inhabitants are clothed in it. The wadding made from it serves the purpose of fur, and is used for lining mattresses and night-gowns, which serve for quilts. From cotton, the Japanese likewise make a kind of writing-paper.* It is made also into wicks, of which an immense quantity must be used, as the Japanese always keep lights burning during the night. Rich people burn candles, and the poor, fish-oil. When foreign vessels enter their ports, or an officer of distinction arrives, the Japanese hang the whole town with cotton stuff. In a word, there is perhaps no other country in which so great a quantity of cotton is used as in Japan ; for this reason, great care is taken to extend its cultivation. As an instance of the industry and activity of this original people, it may be mentioned that they import from the Kurile Islands, into the interior of Japan, herrings spoiled by keeping, to serve as manure for the cotton plantations. They first boil the herrings in large iron kettles ;† then put them into presses, and let all the liquid flow into the same

* The kadsî, or paper-tree, also supplies materials for that manufacture.

† I was an eye-witness of this process in the island of Kunashier.

kettles, from which they take the oil for their lamps. The remains of the herrings are spread upon mats, and laid in the sun to dry till they corrupt, and are almost converted into ashes. They are then stowed in sacks and put on board the boats. The earth round each cotton plant is manured with this, which causes the crop to be extremely abundant.

Japan is very rich in silk. Matsmai is considered one of the very poorest towns, yet we constantly saw people of all ranks, especially women, in silk dresses. On festival days, even the common soldiers wore costly silk dresses. If we consider the great population of the Japanese empire, the quantity of silk must be very great, even if only rich people wore it. It is not, indeed, difficult for the Japanese to cultivate this production to a great extent, as it requires only a good climate and industry. The climate is favourable, and industry is a quality possessed by the Japanese in a very high degree.

Copper is also produced in Japan in great abundance.* The inhabitants cover with it the roofs of some of their houses, the fore part of their ships, and the joists in the houses. Of this metal they manufacture their kitchen utensils, tobacco-pipes, fire-shovels, &c. In our prison, the hearth was covered with copper, and the fire-shovel was of the same metal: this shows that the Japanese do not set any great value upon it. Tea-kettles alone must

* The Japanese copper, which always formed a considerable part of the Dutch trade, is expressly described by Thunberg, as containing more gold, and being finer than any other in the world. It is cast into bars six inches long, and of the thickness of a finger, flat on one side, and convex on the other, and of a fine bright colour.

cause an immense consumption of copper in Japan, for all the Japanese drink, when thirsty, something warm, whether it be tea or water. In every house, therefore, the tea-kettle stands constantly on the fire, which must speedily destroy it. The Japanese copper utensils are, however, of very good workmanship; we often wondered at the durability of the tea-kettles which we made use of, for they stood over the fire for months together without being burned into holes. It is well known that the Dutch, in their trade with Japan, derived their greatest advantage from the exportation of the Japanese copper, because it always contains a large portion of gold, which the natives wanted skill or inclination to extract from it; but they are now become wiser, and give the Dutch only pure copper.

With respect to iron, the Japanese do not possess that metal in such abundance as copper, but they have sufficient to supply their wants; and if the government exchanged with the Dutch, copper for iron, it was not from necessity, but because iron is for many purposes preferable to copper. As the Japanese have a surplus of the latter, both they and the Dutch profited by this exchange. They often told us that the trade with the Dutch did not produce them the least advantage; only certain medicines and the political news, which the Dutch bring them from Europe, are of importance to them. If the Japanese had not sufficient iron for their absolute wants, they would certainly set more value on the trade with the Dutch.

Timber.—The greater part of the Japanese provinces are without wood. The extraordinary population of the country renders it necessary to cultivate every spot of

ground; and therefore only the mountains, which cannot be cultivated, are covered with wood. The principality of Nambu, which lies on the north-east part of the island of Nippon, being very mountainous, is rich in timber, with which it supplies all Japan in exchange for provisions. Of the latter, the principality does not produce sufficient for the support of the inhabitants. On the mountains of the islands of Matsmai, Kunashier, Eetooroop, and Sagaleen, there are forests containing all kinds of trees, which the Japanese also make use of. Nevertheless, but little timber is obtained from these islands, because it is difficult to convey it from the interior to the coasts. When the Japanese feel the necessity of surmounting these obstacles, they will soon open a road to mountains, which other nations would consider as inaccessible. I doubt whether anything would be impossible to the zeal, activity, and patience of this people.

The Japanese wished to know the Russian name for some species of wood, and brought to us pieces and branches of wood, asking what they were called in Russian. We made use of this opportunity to inquire where these trees grew. By this means we learned that several kinds of oak, palm (of which the Japanese make very good combs), bamboo, cypress, cedar, yew, firs, and other trees, the names of which are unknown to us, grow in their islands.

I have before mentioned, that habit has rendered tea one of the first necessaries of life among the Japanese. Japan produces both green and black tea.* The former

* The Japanese tea-tree is described, by Kœmpfer, as having leaves like the cherry, with a flower like a wild rose. It grows, in the most

is considered as the best, and in fact is so. The Japanese even prefer it to the Chinese green tea; but to our taste it did not merit that preference. With respect to their black tea, it is very bad, and the Japanese drink it merely to quench their thirst; whereas they look upon the green tea as a delicacy, and treat their company with it. The government officials, and also the governor himself, often sent us green tea as a present; but then the interpreters and the guards assisted, with good appetite, in emptying our tea-kettle. Tea grows in all the southern provinces of Japan; the best green is produced in the principality of Kioto, in which Kio, the city or residence of the spiritual emperor, is situated.* In this province, tea is cultivated with great care, both for his court and that of the temporal emperor.

Tobacco is an article equally indispensable to the Japanese. The Catholic missionaries were the first who introduced this plant into Japan, and taught its use. From them too the Japanese received its name, and they still call it tobacco, or tabago. It is astonishing how the use of this herb should have spread, in so short a time, over the whole earth. Our interpreter, Teske, one of the most sensible of our Japanese acquaintance, was himself a great smoker; but he often declared that the Christian priests had not done the Japanese so much injury by the

sterile places, to the height of about six feet. It is an evergreen. When fresh, the leaves have no smell, but a very astringent taste.

* Some Europeans call the residence of the spiritual emperor Miako; but the word Miago (not Miako) means metropolis, and is given, by the Japanese, to this city as a distinction. Its proper name, however, is Kio, and Kioto the name of the province.

introduction of their faith as by the introduction of tobacco. The former they observed, was only a transitory and long-forgotten evil, but the latter diverted, and probably would do for centuries to come, large tracts of land and a number of hands from the production of useful and necessary articles, which are now dear, but might otherwise be cheap.

I do not know how many species of this plant there are in nature, nor how many species the Japanese possess; but I saw various kinds of prepared tobacco among them, from the most agreeable to the most unpleasant. They cut both the good and the bad tobacco very small, as the Chinese do: in the manufacture of the better sort, they use *sagi* to moisten it, and sell it in papers, which weigh about a Russian pound. They consider the tobacco from *Sasma* the best; next in quality is that from *Nangasaky*, *Sinday*, &c. The worst comes from the province of *Tzyngaru*: it is strong, of a black colour, and has an unpleasant taste and smell. The tobacco from *Sasma* is also strong, but it has an agreeable taste and odour, and is of a bright yellow colour. The tobacco from *Nangasaky* is very weak, but in taste and smell it is perhaps the best, and is of a bright brown colour. The tobacco from *Sinday* is very good, and was always given us to smoke.

The Japanese manufacture tobacco so well, that though I was before no friend to smoking, and even when I was in *Jamaica*, could but seldom persuade myself to use a *Havannah* cigar, yet I smoked the Japanese tobacco very frequently, and with great pleasure. Snuff is not used in *Japan*.

The academicians, our interpreters, and guards, all

smoked, and used different kinds of tobacco, according to their respective tastes or means. Out of politeness, they frequently offered us their tobacco, and mentioned its name. In this manner, a conversation usually began upon tobacco, which often lasted for hours together. We often had no opportunity to speak of any other more important things.

The Japanese horses are neither very large nor strong. They resemble, in size, our farmers' horses, but are much thinner, better shaped, and also more spirited. The climate permits the horses, as well as the horned cattle, always to eat grass; it is only on journeys, or after some hard labour, that a little barley is given to them. But in Matsmai and Sagaleen, where a great deal of snow falls in the winter, the inhabitants are obliged to lay up a provision of hay. Among all the Japanese horses we saw, we did not observe a single white one; they were mostly dark brown. We, therefore, asked the Japanese, if there were no white horses in their principal island, and were answered that they were very rarely met with. They have also large horses in Japan, but they are very few in number. The Japanese never shoe their horses, for they have no occasion to drive over ice, and have no pavement. If they travel during the rainy season in mountainous places, where it is slippery, they use pieces of wood of the size and shape of an ox's or horse's hoof. These pieces of wood are laid on the very thick skin of the sealion or some other marine animal, and then iron nails are driven through the skin, with large sharp heads. This serves instead of shoes.

The horned cattle are small and lean; for the Japanese do not give themselves much trouble about feeding them, as they do not eat beef, and drink no milk.

Hemp grows in the northern provinces of Japan. We saw some in Matsmai: I have already mentioned for what purposes the Japanese employ it.

The tree called Kadzy grows in great abundance, and is of most important use to the inhabitants. The Japanese explained to us what kind of tree it is; but I never could understand them sufficiently to describe it.

There are, in several parts of the empire, considerable gold and silver mines. The government, however, does not permit them all to be worked, that the value of these metals may not depreciate.* The Japanese use gold and silver for various purposes besides coin. Their temples are ornamented with these metals; people of distinction wear sabres, with gold or silver hilts and scabbards; rich persons use gold and silver pipes; many lackered articles, such as table utensils, boxes, and screens, are ornamented with gold and silver; there is a kind of gold and silver stuff; nay, we were told that in the principal cities, there are numerous public buildings with gilded roofs. In the houses of the princes and great people, there are many ornaments of the precious metals, and the ladies frequently wear gold and silver trinkets.

Japan has sufficient lead, tin, quicksilver and sulphur, for supplying its own wants.† Not only musket bullets

* It is stated by Charlevoix, that when the Jesuit missionaries first went to Matsmai, they found a river flowing past the walls of the city. In the sands of this river there was a great portion of gold dust, the searching for which was a great source of wealth to numberless adventurers, who hired certain portions of the river, each draining his portion by means of a dyke and canal, permitting the river to resume its natural course when the search was over.

† A trade in sulphur might also be very advantageous, as there are several natural *souffrières*, the produce of which is very great, especially

but even cannon balls, are cast of tin, which serve the purpose of the Japanese, who have had no wars for two hundred years. As for sulphur, they have an island which is entirely covered with it, and which, on account of the hot springs, is enveloped in a constant vapour. This island is one of the seven wonders of the Japanese empire, all of which they named to us.*

Having mentioned those productions of Japan which supply the chief wants of the people, I proceed to those which minister rather to fashion or luxury, or are at least less necessary. They are as follows :

Diamonds and pearls, marble and other kinds of stone,† the camphor tree, the varnish tree, fruit trees, garden plants, various wild plants, domestic and wild animals, used by the Japanese.

Japan produces precious stones, but of what kinds we were not able to learn. The official persons who had seen the snuff-box and other things, which the Japanese Kodai

in the island Ivogesima, or Sulphur-island, besides other places. The Jesuit writers consider sulphur as one of the greatest sources of wealth in Japan.

* In the narrative of my captivity, I mentioned, that I always wrote down my remarks on small slips of paper, which I carefully preserved, lest our other papers should be taken from us. Unfortunately, I have lost several of those slips, and among them, that on which I had written down the seven wonders. I remember only three: 1st. The above-mentioned island; 2nd. A mountain, on which flames are seen during the night, without any body being able to assign the cause; 3rd. A deep well, formed by nature, in which, when a small pebble is thrown down it, a dreadful noise is heard.

† Some very fine agates are found in Japan. They are nearly equal to sapphires. There are also cornelians and jaspers. Pearls are found in great abundance; but, not being considered ornamental by the Japanese ladies, they have long been reserved for the Chinese market.

had received from the late Empress Catherine II., and had brought with him to Japan, said that there were stones in Japan such as those things were ornamented with, but that the Japanese artists did not understand how to give them so beautiful a polish.

Japan is rich in pearls, but we did not see any remarkably large.

There are various kinds of marble in Japan. We were shewn various articles made of white marble with small blue veins, and of another kind of marble, like that with which St. Isaac's church, at St. Petersburg, is built. They also shewed us seals, made of cornelian, agate, jasper, and other stones, with which I am unacquainted. On the shores of the principalities of Nambu and Tzyngaru, there are found stones of different colours, and of the size of a nut, which are so washed by the waves that they seem almost transparent, like crystal. The Japanese gave me twelve red and twelve white stones of this kind, to use when we played at drafts, but the sailor whom I ordered to take them home with him, lost them.

Many Japanese carry perfumes about them, one of which is camphor. They told us, that in the southern part of Japan, the tree which produces it grows in such abundance, that notwithstanding the great consumption of it in the country, large quantities are exported by the Dutch and Chinese. There is also an imitation of camphor in Japan, but it is easily distinguished from the genuine.

The Japanese varnish is celebrated even in Europe. The tree which produces this juice grows in such abundance, that it is used for lackering table utensils, boxes, saddles, bows, arrows, spears, sheaths, cartouch-boxes,

tobacco-boxes, walls of rooms, screens, and, in short, everything that it is desirable to ornament.* We saw a masterpiece in varnishing. It was a bottle-case belonging to the governor, who sent it for us to look at. The polish on it was so beautiful, that we could see our faces in it as in a mirror. The natural colour of the varnish juice is white, but it assumes any colour with which it may be mixed. The best varnish in Japan is usually black or red, but we saw also green, yellow, blue and other colours. In varnishing, the Japanese also imitate marble. The juice, when fresh, is poisonous, and very injurious to those who collect it; but after it has stood for some time in the open air, it loses its poisonous quality. Varnished utensils, however, may be used without danger. The Japanese are so clever in varnishing, that you may pour hot water into a vessel and drink it, without perceiving the slightest smell. This remark, however, applies only to vessels of the best workmanship; in others, the smell of the paint is perceptible when warm water is poured into them.

There is no want of fruit trees in Japan. There are oranges, lemons, peaches, apricots, plums, figs, cherries, pears, apples,† chesnuts, &c. It is strange that in a

* The real Japan varnish is made from a tree called silz, yielding a whitish juice, whose application to articles of domestic use, even at court, is considered more valuable than silver or gold. Its preparation is very simple. It is merely drawn from the tree, strained through paper, and then tinted with the various colouring substances required. The Japan varnish has always been considered much superior to that of China or Tonquin, and the Japanese apply it in a manner peculiar to themselves.

† I have read, in an European work upon Japan, that there are no apples there. But we ourselves eat apples which came from the principality of Tzyngaru. They were, it is true, small and ill-tasted.

climate like Japan, grapes should not flourish. There are only small wild grapes, which are very sour, and are salted and eaten as salad.* The reason perhaps is, that they grow in the woods, under the shade of trees, and that the Japanese do not understand the culture of the vine.

Next to rice and fish, vegetables are the favourite food of the Japanese. They have melons, water-melons, gourds, cucumbers, turnips, carrots, mustard, &c. We could not learn whether they had any cabbages. We frequently explained to them what kind of plant it was, and even made them a drawing of one, but they always said that they had nothing like it growing in Japan. Except melons and water-melons, the Japanese eat no vegetables raw, and were much surprised when they saw us eat raw cucumbers with salt and vinegar. They mix their mustard with vinegar and eat it with fish.

They have also large quantities of red, or cayenne pepper, and poppies. They eat the pepper raw, with various dishes, or boil it in sugar, and use it as a preserve. They mix the poppy with sugar or treacle, and eat it with a paste made of pounded rice. They use poppy-oil in frying fish and in dressing various dishes.

Among the vegetable productions used by the Japanese for food, are sugar-cane, black and red currents, bird cherry (*Prunus Padus*, Linn.), various herbs, fungi, seaweed, and the berries of wild-roses, or hips, which

* Round Nangasaky, many species of European vegetables are now cultivated. They have the red beet, carrots, fennel, dill, anise, parsley, asparagus, leeks, onions, turnips, black radishes, lettuces, succory, endive, &c. But it is curious, that even there, Thunberg does not enumerate cabbages.

grow in abundance in the northern provinces of Japan. The Japanese use the latter as a medicine, and eat them raw.

The sugar-cane is rare in Japan, and the sugar which it yields is black, and not very sweet. The want of land for the cultivation of more necessary plants, probably hinders the Japanese from cultivating the cane, which is merely an article of luxury.*

The Japanese salt currants and bird cherries, and eat them as salad; pickled mushrooms are considered a great delicacy; they are boiled in soups, salted, or laid in vinegar.

With respect to sea-weed, it not only furnishes food to millions of people in Japan, but it is also an article of commerce. The Japanese dry it, and then use it in soup; or it is wrapped round fish, and both are boiled and eaten together. Sea-weed is often broiled over the fire, salt is strewed on it, and it is eaten without any further dressing. This weed is chiefly used by poor people; but the rich frequently eat it dressed in a different manner, and even the Emperor's kitchen is furnished with it.

The domestic animals of the Japanese, besides horses and oxen, are swine, dogs and cats. The first are used as food by those sects that are permitted to eat meat. The dogs are employed in the chase, and to guard the houses, and the cats perform the same services as in Europe, though a writer upon Japan says, that the Japanese cats do not catch mice. This is, however, untrue. A Japanese male cat, which we had, understood his business perfectly, and was not inferior to any of his

* Sugar, in a soft state, generally forms part of the imports by the Dutch ships.

European brethren. I may also observe, that he often amused us in prison by his tricks ; and as he was a great favourite with us, he was never in want of food ; yet instinct prompted him to catch rats and mice.

Chickens and ducks are the only domestic fowl that the Japanese use (though but seldom) as food. Though it is permitted in some sects, yet from attachment to these animals they do not like to kill them. If one of us were ill, and the Japanese wished to make some chicken broth, as they had heard that it was usually given to the sick in Europe, they had great difficulty in finding any one who would sell them a fowl for that purpose, though they offered a high price for one.

The Japanese are fond of eggs ; they boil them hard, and eat them for dessert like fruit, frequently with oranges. For us, they boiled them in soup with vegetables. For people of distinction, fowls are kept in rooms, where they lay their eggs and are fed on rice.* Great people would not eat the eggs of fowls that run about at their will, and pick up what they can find. Many keep also swans, geese, and turkeys, but merely for pleasure, as we do peacocks, which they also have.

Some wild quadrupeds are used by the Japanese for various purposes : wild boars, bears, deer, hares and wild goats. Those sects which are allowed to eat meat use them for food ; and in the northern parts of Japan, where the winters are very cold, the poor people use bear-skins as quilts. The rich have travelling bags, or cases, made of these skins to put over things which they desire to protect against bad weather, such as trunks with clothes, bottle cases, and the like.

* Among their fowls they have also the guinea fowl.

The gall of the bear is made into a solid mass, and used as a strengthening medicine, for weakness in the stomach, and other disorders. It is highly valued by the Japanese for its medicinal virtue, and paid for at a high price. They affirm, that the gall of those bears which are killed in the Island of Nippon is far more efficacious than that of the bears of Matsmai; the latter are therefore less esteemed. The method of using this remedy is very simple; it is to bite off little pieces and swallow them.

Of deer-skins the Japanese manufacture a kind of thick and fine chamois leather.

Of useful insects they have silk-worms and bees. The honey which the latter produce is employed only in medicine, and the wax used only by apothecaries for plaisters.

In the third and last division of the productions of Japan, I reckon those from which the inhabitants derive little or no advantage. Among them I may mention coals, which are abundant in Japan, but not used.

Raspberries, wild and garden strawberries, which we esteem so highly in Europe, are not eaten by the Japanese, who consider them unwholesome. These fruits, however, are really not at all pleasant in Japan; they are, indeed, as large as ours, and of a dark red colour, but they are not sweet, very watery, and almost without fragrance.

The principal wild quadrupeds found in Japan, are bears, panthers, leopards, wolves, wild dogs and foxes. Many superstitious Japanese ascribe to the last the power of Satan. In the southern and middle provinces of the empire, there are monkeys of a small race; in the island of Matsmai there are sables, but their fur is reddish, and

therefore does not bear a high price. Elephants, tigers, lions, camels, apes; greyhounds, pointers, setters, and other species of dogs, are known to the Japanese only from drawings.

There are numerous kinds of birds of prey in Japan; such as eagles, falcons, hawks, kites, &c. Of wild fowl, the sects that may eat meat use geese and ducks for food. Swans and cranes are held sacred, and nobody dares to kill them. Of singing-birds, we saw in cages, starlings, bull-finches and green-finches; but no others. The Japanese are fond of singing-birds in their houses, and there are shops where they are sold.

More common birds, such as cuckoos, ravens, crows, sparrows, &c., are as numerous in the north of Japan and Matsmai as with us. Parrots and canary birds are not found in Japan: on the coasts there is abundance of sea-fowl, such as albatrosses, cormorants, various species of gulls, Greenland pigeons, &c.

This is all that I am able to state respecting the natural productions of Japan.

In speaking of the manufactures of that empire, those of silk, steel, porcelain and lackered goods must have the first place.

The silk manufactories are important, not only on account of the quantity, but also the good quality of the articles they produce. The Japanese make several kinds of stuffs and costly articles, which are not at all inferior to those of China.

With respect to steel manufactures, the Japanese sabres and daggers surpass all others in the world, those of Damascus perhaps excepted. The Japanese are extremely skilful in polishing steel, and all other metals;

they make metal mirrors, which are scarcely inferior to looking-glasses. We often saw carpenters' and cabinet-makers' tools, of Japanese manufacture, which might almost be compared with the English. Their saws are so good that the thinnest boards may be sawn out of the hardest wood.

That the Japanese lackered goods surpass those of other nations, is a fact universally admitted.

The Japanese porcelain is far superior to the Chinese ; but it is dearer, and manufactured in such small quantities that it is insufficient for the consumption of Japan itself ; so that a great deal of porcelain is imported from China. The Japanese have also a more ordinary porcelain and earthenware, but they are both coarse and clumsy ; it is only on the best porcelain that they employ much time and labour.

The cotton manufactories must be extremely numerous, from the universal use of cotton stuffs, but the Japanese want either skill or inclination to manufacture good articles out of cotton : at least we never saw anything remarkable in this kind of manufacture. When they saw our India muslin cravats, they would not believe that they were made of cotton.

In the working of metals the Japanese are extremely skilful, particularly in the manufacture of copper utensils. They understand the art of casting metal statues. They also carve figures in stone and wood ; but, judging from the idols which we saw in the temples at Matsmai, these arts are very imperfect among them. In painting,*

* Their taste in painting is very singular ; and in their own peculiar style, they may be said to excel. Their pencilling is very delicate. They

engraving, and printing, they are far behind even the nations of Europe among whom these arts are still in their infancy. In carving, they are tolerably skilful ; and their gold, silver, and copper coins, are well executed. They pursue various handicrafts with success. They have great distilleries, in which they distil, from rice, their brandy (called Sotschio), and their wine (Sagi). They have also tobacco manufactories, iron-works, &c. Thousands of persons are employed in the manufacture of straw-shoes, hats, and mats. The manufactories are spread over the whole kingdom, but the principal ones are in the cities of Kio, Yeddo, and Osaga.

The Japanese pursue, with equal diligence, various other employments, that of fishing particular. They catch animals of various kinds in traps, but they shoot still more ; they use dogs merely to trace them. They take birds in nets, as well as by shooting. A particular method is employed to catch small birds ; they make of tar, or the sap of a tree, a thick and clammy paste with which they smear the trunks of fallen trees, and strew rice around. The rice tempts the birds, which stick to the trees, and are thus caught in flocks.

In Japan, as in all nations, there are numbers of idlers who ramble about the streets and public houses, and seek their livelihood by jugglers' tricks and begging. The following method by which idle people, especially women, gain money, deserves particular mention. They catch a number of snakes, of different sizes and colours, from which they skilfully extract the venom. Then they

pay very little attention to portrait painting, confining themselves generally to birds, flowers, and the like.

strip themselves nearly naked, and wind the snakes round their arms, legs, and other parts of their bodies. In this manner they seem to be enveloped in a kind of motley costume, formed of hissing serpents' heads; and thus arrayed, they ramble about the streets, singing, dancing, and playing antics to obtain money.

Japan may certainly be called a commercial state, if extensive internal trade alone may give a claim to this title. All the principalities and provinces of this populous empire, maintain commercial intercourse with each other. The extraordinary diversity of climate produces in the different provinces a great variety of articles, which all mutually want. Necessity, joined to the industry and activity of the people, render useful all the productions of nature and art; so that the inhabitants of the whole empire carry on a commercial intercourse with each other, both by land and by water. The latter is the most common mode of conveyance. The sea along the coasts, and the navigable rivers, are covered with thousands of vessels, which convey goods to all parts of the empire.

Though their navigation is wholly confined to the coasts, and their vessels quite unfit for long voyages, they are, nevertheless, well adapted to the purposes in which they are employed. Many of them are above one hundred feet long, and uncommonly broad. The largest Japanese ships are from sixteen to twenty thousand poods burthen.

The Japanese have many useful regulations and institutions for the safety of navigation; such as pilots in every port, to conduct the ships in and out, and to foretell the weather according to certain signs. In dangerous

parts of the coasts people are employed to keep up fires, upon eminences, marks are set up for the direction of mariners, &c. For the conveyance of merchandize by land, where it cannot be effected by water, good roads and bridges are constructed. Matsmai is merely a Japanese colony; yet, notwithstanding its high mountains and precipices, rapid torrents, and the rudeness of its climate, the roads are in admirably good condition. In the open country, far from the towns, we saw well-built bridges.*

The commercial spirit of the Japanese is visible in all their towns and villages. In almost every house there is a shop, stocked with goods more or less valuable; and, as we frequently see in England the magnificent window of a jeweller next door to an oyster shop, so we see here a rich silk merchant and a mender of straw-shoes carrying on their business close to each other. In their regard to order, the Japanese very much resemble the English; they love cleanliness and regularity. All goods have in Japan, as in England, little printed bills, on which are noted the price, the use, and the name of the article, the name of maker, or manufactory, and often a few words of recommendation. Even tobacco, pomatum, tooth-powder and other trifles, are wrapped up in papers, on which a notice of the quality and the price is printed. In packing up goods, they observe the same order as in Europe. Rice and other grain are packed in sacks made of straw. They have no casks for liquids, but they keep their

* The bridges in the southern district are constructed in good style, and are furnished with balustrades. The largest in the empire is at Mickawa; it is built of wood. Where there are no bridges, fords are always pointed out, with proper guides for passing them.

sotschio, sagi, soja, &c., in tubs which hold three or four pailsful. These tubs have only wooden hoops, and are broader at top than at bottom. The best kind of sagi is kept in large earthen jars. Manufactured stuffs of all kinds are packed up in chests, like tea. Silk goods are folded in whole pieces, and laid in separate chests, made of very thin boards, having inscriptions indicating the article, the name of the maker, the measure and the quality.

In every port there is a custom-house for superintending the loading and unloading of goods, watching that nothing is privately imported or exported, levying duties, &c. The duty, for almost all goods imported is paid by the merchants into the treasury of the Emperor or of the princes, according as the port may be in the imperial dominions or in one of the principalities. The superintendence of the ships in port is under the controul of an officer, whose functions nearly correspond with those of our harbour-masters; they are also superintendents of the pilots. Before we were released from Japan, we lived, at Chakodade, in the house of a harbour-master: we observed that a great many seamen and other persons came to him every morning, whence we inferred, that his post was not inconsiderable.

For the advantage of the merchants, and to facilitate trade, the government publishes a kind of commercial gazette, containing the prices of goods in different parts of the empire. In the same manner the public is informed by little billets of the state of the rice crop and other productions in the various provinces; nay, from the time that the crops begin to shoot, until the harvest, the people are informed from time to time of their condition.

In order to give extension to trade over the whole empire, and to afford merchants greater resources and facilities, the Japanese have introduced bills of exchange and promissory notes, like those circulated in the European states, under the protection of the laws. In one of the southern principalities of Japan, there are bank notes, which circulate as money. There are three kinds of coin in Japan: gold, silver, and copper. The latter are round, with holes in the middle, by which they are put upon a string, instead of being carried in a purse. This money is called by the Japanese *mon*. When they saw our Russian copecs, they compared them with this coin, and found that four Japanese mons made one copec. The gold and silver coins are oblong, quadrangular, and thicker than a Russian imperial. The name, value, date of the year, and name of the maker, are stamped on each. As I had no opportunity of ascertaining either the standard of the metal, or the weight, I cannot compare them with our coinage.

The greatest trade by land is carried on in the city of Kio, the residence of the spiritual emperor. This city does not lie on the sea, but is very populous, and has manufactories of all kinds; it is, therefore, visited by merchants from all parts of the empire, who cannot convey their own goods thither, or bring away what they purchase, except by land. Of all the maritime cities, Yeddo (the residence of the temporal emperor) and Osaga, carry on the greatest trade. Osaga, the most beautiful city in Japan, is situated at the distance of five hundred wersts south of Yeddo. There are, besides, in almost every principality that borders on the sea, considerable commercial cities.

It is well known in Europe how great are the restrictions on trade with foreigners in Japan. The cause of this is, probably, the distrust of the Japanese Government in Europeans, and their bad opinion of them. Whether the Japanese Government judges rightly or not, I leave others to decide, and will merely observe, that the mass of the people in Japan wish to trade with foreigners, particularly Europeans. The more enlightened portion of the Japanese, however, reason as follows: "The people are blind, as far as regards the government of this kingdom, and only know superficially, what most nearly concerns them; they cannot see two steps before them, and therefore might easily fall down a precipice, unless they were guided by persons who can see. Thus the Japanese, without considering the bad consequences which might result from an intercourse with foreigners, see only the personal advantage which they might derive from trading with them."

Until the attempts made by Europeans to introduce the Christian religion into Japan, that empire carried on extensive commerce with all parts of the East. Japanese ships sailed, not only to China and the Indian Islands, but even to the continent of India, which the Japanese call Tenzigu. But the Christian religion, or rather the Catholic preachers of it, inspired the people with such terror, that the government, after the extirpation of Christianity two centuries ago, forbade natives of Japan, under pain of death, to travel to foreign countries, and did not allow foreigners to come to Japan, except with great precautions, and in small numbers. Japanese ships can now only trade to Corea, and the Loo-Choo Islands, the natives of those countries being considered, in some measure, as Japanese subjects, because they pay

tribute. None but Corean, Loo-Choo, and Japanese ships are admitted in Japan, and those only in small numbers. Of Europeans, only the Dutch have a right to trade with the Japanese, but on such hard terms, that the Dutch, in Japan, more resemble prisoners than free men engaged in commercial intercourse with a friendly power.*

The Chinese supply the Japanese with rice, porcelain, wrought and unwrought ivory, nankeen, moist sugar, ginseng root,† medicinal herbs, alum, and divers trifles, such as fans, tobacco-pipes, &c. They receive from the Japanese, in return, copper, varnish, lackered goods, salted and dried fish, sea-weed, and some Japanese manufactures.

From the Dutch, the Japanese receive sugar, spices, ivory, iron, medicines, saltpetre, alum, some sorts of colours, cloth, glass, and other European articles, such as watches, looking-glasses, mathematical instruments, &c. They give in return, copper, varnish, rice, and some of their manufactures, such as lackered articles, porcelain, &c. I heard that the Dutch carry on a very advan-

* When the Portuguese (the first Europeans who visited Japan, in the middle of the sixteenth century) began to trade with the natives, they enjoyed extraordinary privileges. They had the right to import into Japan whatever goods they pleased, and to sell them at their own prices in all parts of the empire. But the pride and rapacity of the Portuguese, and particularly the eagerness of the Catholic priests in making proselytes, offended the Japanese Government, and laid the foundation of distrust in all Europeans, except in the Dutch, whom they call their friends, because, it appears, they consider the natives of Holland as the most honest among European nations.

† Ginseng (Dschin sen), or the Chinese root, is much valued in China and Japan, where it is sold at a high price, because it is supposed to possess the property of renewing or strengthening the physical powers of the human frame.

tageous trade in Japanese goods in the Malay and Molucca Islands.

The harbour of Nangasaky, in the south of Japan, is the only one that is open to the Chinese, as well as to the Dutch. All other ports are shut against them; and one and the same system is uniformly observed by the Japanese in their trade, or rather barter, with the Chinese and Dutch. When a ship enters the harbour of Nangasaky, after the usual ceremonies and questions, the goods are landed. Then the imperial officers (for the foreign trade is a monopoly in the hands of the Emperor) examine the quality and quantity of the goods, consult together, and fix the price of those articles which the owners of the ship desire to have in return. The latter must either accede to the terms of the Japanese, or take back the goods; for all bargaining is impossible. In this manner, the Emperor buys foreign goods through the medium of his commissioners, and disposes of them wholesale to the Japanese merchants, who sell them by retail. Judging from the high prices which are paid in Japan for Dutch goods, it may be supposed either that the Dutch are remunerated exorbitantly, or that the Emperor and his merchants fix extravagantly high prices: probably both are gainers.

CHAPTER VII.

- Population and military force—Infanticide—Prevalence of blindness—
Extent of the metropolis of Japan — Arms, uniform, and pay of
soldiers, officers, &c. — Imperfect construction of ships — Skill of
Japanese sailors.

DURING the space of two centuries, Japan has had no wars either abroad or at home, with the exception of some internal disturbances. Epidemics, and infectious diseases, with a few exceptions, are unknown to the Japanese: they are therefore strangers to those evils which check the increase of population in other countries, and are especially happy that the great destroyer of the human race, war, does not brandish among them his desolating torch. A country enjoying a healthy climate and uninterrupted peace, must be populous. Japan is so. It was, however, impossible for me to learn the real amount of the population of Japan; for the Japanese themselves could not even inform me whether the government had authentic accounts of the number of the inhabitants. They considered it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to obtain any census; because many millions of the poorer people have no fixed abodes, and live in the open air, in the streets, in the fields, or the woods. To give

us an idea of the population of their country, the academician and the interpreter, Teske, showed us a map of Japan, which was drawn upon a very large sheet of paper. On this map were marked, not only all the towns, but also the villages, so that the paper was almost totally covered with the names written on it. They showed on the road from Mimai to Yeddo, a place which they call a desert, or steppe, because a neighbouring river, after heavy rains, overflows that spot, and renders it unfit for cultivation. This desert is considered immense, because the litter bearers, who carry travellers, when they set out in the morning, meet with no village till noon, and when they have rested, have to travel on again through the desert till sunset. A barren place about eighteen wersts in extent the Japanese call a desert!

They also showed us a plan of the capital, and told us that a man could not walk in one day from one end of it to the other. When we made inquiries respecting its population, we were informed that it contained upwards of ten millions of inhabitants. Our Japanese friends were very angry when we expressed doubts of this fact, and the next day a paper came from an official person, who had been employed in the police in Yeddo. This paper stated, that the city of Yeddo has in its principal streets,* two hundred and eighty thousand houses, and in each of them there live from thirty to forty people. Supposing there were only thirty, the number of the inhabitants must amount to eight millions four hundred thousand. If to these be added the inhabitants of the small houses and huts, persons

* In Japanese "Sodo-ïe," that is to say, house, the front of which is to the street. These houses are distinguished from the small houses and huts, which are not in the street, but lie scattered about in other parts of the city.

who live in the open air, the Imperial guard, the guard of the princes in the capital, their suites, &c., the number of the inhabitants must exceed ten millions. In confirmation of their statements, the Japanese mentioned that Yeddo alone contained thirty-six thousand blind people.* To this we could say nothing; neither allowing the Japanese to be in the right, nor contradicting their assertion.

These data may however be very correct, for according to the plan of the city, and considering the narrowness of the streets, Yeddo may be computed to contain ten millions of people: its greatest diameter is more than eight Japanese Ri, or thirty-two to thirty-five wersts. Teske assured us that the city, notwithstanding its immense size, was continually extending, and he mentioned as a

* Among the many singular institutions in Japan, is the class or order of the blind. Blind persons, to whatever part of the empire they may belong, are united in a society, which has its privileges, laws, and a governor, whom they call Prince. The assistants, treasurers, &c., are all blind. The members of this society employ themselves, according to their abilities, in various works, which they sell, and they deliver to their Prince the money obtained for them. This money is placed in a general treasury, and is employed according to the rules of the society. Many blind men are physicians, and prescribe for various diseases, which the Japanese cure by means of baths; others are musicians. It is related that this society owes its foundation to a Japanese general, who during the civil wars lost his prince and benefactor, and was made prisoner by his adversary. The victor loaded this general with favours, and at last asked him if he would serve him. The general answered, that he was fully sensible of his goodness, but as he had murdered his former master and benefactor, he not only would not serve him, for that he could not even look at him without feeling an ardent desire to commit the same crime again. He was therefore resolved to deprive himself of the means of doing so; and at these words tore his eyes out of his head, and threw them at the feet of his victor. After the death of this hero, his friends instituted the order of the blind, which still exists.

confirmation of this, that during his stay in the capital, he lived with a merchant who dealt in stones, for foundations, and that he had a considerable demand for them; but as the frequent fires in Yeddo cannot destroy the stones, they were without doubt bought for new buildings. The prodigious population of Japan frequently causes poor people to destroy their children, at the period of their birth, when they are weakly and deformed. The laws prohibit those murders under severe penalties; but the government never inquires rigorously as to the way in which the children have died, perhaps from political motives. Thus crimes of this kind are committed without the perpetrators being called to account.

A country in a state of peace cannot be expected to make progress in matters connected with the art of war. This is especially the case with Japan, where the laws forbid the introduction of foreign inventions and improvements. In fact it requires at least a century to introduce an innovation into their military system of the Japanese; a strict observance of ancient rules is the spirit of their unalterable tactics.

I have already mentioned that the military profession is hereditary in Japan. Every man, upon entering the service, is obliged to take an oath to the Emperor, which he signs in his own blood, drawn from the right hand. If promoted he has no need to take new oaths. There are in Japan, soldiers belonging to the Emperor, and others belonging to the princes. Every prince is bound to maintain a certain number of troops, and to employ them at the pleasure of the Emperor. We could not learn the strength of the Japanese military force: for in truth, we avoided carrying our curiosity too far, lest, by obtaining any extensive knowledge of Japan, we should be doomed

to pass the whole of our lives in a Japanese prison; for an unfavourable construction might have been put on our numerous questions. The distrust of the Japanese Government, with respect to Europeans in general, manifests itself particularly towards the Russians, as being frontier neighbours.

The Japanese military forces consist of artillery, infantry, and cavalry. We did not see the last, but were informed that the best men were selected for it. They have rich dresses and fine horses, and are armed with sabres, pikes and pistols.

The Japanese artillery is still extremely imperfect. The cannon cast in Japan are of copper; and in proportion to the calibre, uncommonly thick. The breech is unscrewed, in order to load. The Japanese, therefore, load their cannon very slowly, and do not fire until all the artillerymen have retired to some distance; one of them then discharges the gun with a long linstock. The Japanese have no cannon of large calibre; they have, however, some Dutch eighteen and twenty-four pounders; one of which we saw upon a battery near Chakodade. They use besides, small falconets, which however are extremely heavy, on account of their thickness; their carriages are very bad, and so heavy that they cannot be moved but with the greatest difficulty. The Japanese have their own powder, which consists of the same ingredients as ours, but whether in the same proportions I cannot tell. I conjecture that they put too much charcoal in it, for the smoke is extremely thick and black. We had no opportunity to see any Japanese fireworks; but according to their accounts, they are very skilful in managing them. They gave us a description of some of their effects.

The Japanese infantry are armed with muskets, arrows,

and pikes; the sabre and the dagger are the weapons of every soldier. Their muskets and pistols have copper barrels, which are very heavy. The butt ends are small, and they do not put them to their shoulder when they fire, but lay them to their right cheek, and so take aim. Instead of a flint there is a match to the lock, which is lighted when necessary; but as, in loading the piece, it is requisite to be extremely careful that the powder in the pan may not ignite too soon, the operation of loading is very slow. The Japanese are more dexterous in the management of bows and arrows. Their pikes are fastened to long poles, and are very heavy and inconvenient.

The ordinary or undress uniform of the Japanese soldiers consists in a short coat called the chauri, which they wear over their ordinary clothes without a girdle. The imperial soldiers have black silk chauri, with white embroidery on the breast and back. The soldiers of all the reigning princes have particular uniforms of cotton. The soldiers of the Prince of Nambu have light-blue chauri, with a white cross on the back; and those of the Prince of Tzyngaru, black chauri, with a white square.

The state or holiday dress of the soldiers is very costly: it consists of white trousers, and a short upper garment, like a cloak or hood, both made of fine silk, and embroidered with gold, silver, or silk. These dresses are of different colours. They are preserved in the imperial arsenals, and delivered to the soldiers when necessary. When the 'Diana' lay in the harbour of Chakodade, all the soldiers in the city wore their state dresses.

The full military uniform of the Japanese soldiers consists of short, wide trousers and a jacket, over which they have armour upon the breast, back and arms. Even the thighs, from the waist down to the knee, are cased in

armour. Over this armour they wear the chauri, but not when in battle. On their heads they wear large lackered hats, which, like the armour, are of metal. The Japanese also use visors to protect the face. Their military dress is, on the whole, heavy, and calculated to impede rapid movement.

The soldiers receive their pay in rice, except in the islands of Matsmai, Kunashier, Eetooroop, and Saga-len, where part of their pay is in rice and part in money. They generally sell the greater portion of the rice, in order to provide themselves with other necessaries. The soldiers of the princes are better paid than those of the Emperor; but the latter have several privileges.

I do not know whether it is a constant practice in Japan; but during our residence in the Island of Matsmai, the soldiers were frequently exercised in firing, both with cannon and small arms; and he who hit the mark twice running, received a reward. The Japanese assured us that this was their constant rule. I am rather inclined to think that they were at that time preparing for war, for as they had taken us prisoners by treachery, they could not but expect that Russia would call them to account in some way or other.

There are no permanent generals in Japan. When a war breaks out, the Emperor appoints the principal commanders, and the princes name the others. This was the custom in Russia, till the introduction of regular troops. The Japanese commanders are called by the general name of Taischo, with the addition of other titles, to distinguish their rank and authority. The chief commanders are generally princes; the others are chosen from among the nobility, and persons holding civil appointments.

In engineering, the Japanese are as inexperienced, as

in other branches of the military art. The fortresses and batteries, which we saw, were constructed in a manner which shows that they understand nothing of the rules of fortification. The battery which is designed to defend the entrance of the harbour of Chakodade, is mounted with cannon of very small calibre, and is situated upon a mountain one hundred and fifty fathoms high, nearly perpendicular, and besides pretty far from the shore. In making this battery the engineers seem not to have so much intended the defence of the harbour as of the artillery-men.

Before the close of the sixteenth century, when the Japanese Government forbade its subjects to visit foreign countries, the Japanese had a fleet. Their ships were large, furnished with but a few guns, and capable of containing many armed men. Their build was not at all adapted to the ocean, and their rigging was still worse. They had, as is still the custom on board merchant ships, only one great mast and an immense sail. Japan has now no ships of war, except some yachts belonging to the reigning princes. Merchant ships are not permitted to carry any cannon; this privilege is confined to the Emperor's ships, which alone are allowed to be painted red.

If the Japanese Government desired to have a navy, it would be very easy to form one upon the European system, and to bring it to the greatest perfection. It would be only necessary to invite to Japan two or three good ship-builders, and some naval officers. They have good ports, all the necessary materials, a number of able carpenters, and very active and enterprising sailors. The people in general are quick of comprehension, and ready at learning. Japanese mariners, trained in the European

manner, would soon make the fleets of Japan able to contend with those of Europe. It requires no little courage to put to sea in such vessels as they now have: if a storm drives them from the coast, the rudder and the mast infallibly break, and the vessel is then at the mercy of the winds and waves. The winds prevalent in those seas blow either from the Japanese coast, or in a direction parallel with it. In these desperate cases, therefore, mariners can only expect either to perish at sea, or to be wrecked on a strange coast. If any one escapes, he can hardly hope to see his native country again, as no other has any intercourse with it. In this manner Japanese ships have been wrecked on the coasts of Kamtschatka, and on the Aleutian and Kurile Islands; and it is probable that many more have perished at sea. We were frequently witnesses of the activity of the Japanese sailors; it is wonderful with what dexterity they manage their great boats in the violent surf, and in the most rapid currents at the mouths of rivers, and where the effects of the ebb and flood are greatest. From such sailors everything may be expected. They are well paid for their dangerous and laborious service.

CHAPTER VIII.

Nations paying tribute to Japan and its colonies—Origin of the Kuriles—
Their language and religion—Food and customs—Domestic manners.

ABOUT two centuries ago, the Coreans* and the inhabitants of the Loo-Choo Islands† were conquered by the Japanese, who subjected them to their authority, and obliged them to pay a tribute, which the emperors of Japan now receive annually. This tribute is, according to the statement of the Japanese, very inconsiderable; and is levied by the emperors, not so much on account of the profit, as to give evidence of their power. For this reason the heir of the throne of Corea must always live at the Japanese court, and serve as a hostage for the fidelity of that prince. He is treated well, and receives all the honour due to his rank. The Japanese have a fortress on the coast of Corea, with a numerous garrison, to watch the people, of whom they have the more distrust, because they

* The Japanese call Corea by that name; the inhabitants they call Coreadsin.

† These islands are called, in Japan, Dschiu-ju-kiu. They lie to the south of Japan, in the 26° north latitude, and 128½° east longitude from Greenwich.

are at the same time subject to the Chinese Emperors, and pay tribute to them. To place themselves in full security with respect to the inhabitants of Corea, the Japanese keep a large army always in readiness on an island situated between Japan and the latter place. This island has, on its south-west side, a strongly fortified town and a good harbour. It is governed by an Obunjo, who has the same rank as the governor of Matsmai: the Japanese fortress on the coast of Corea is also subject to him. Though the Emperors of Japan do not derive much profit from the tribute paid by the Coreans, yet the trade of these people with Japan is very extensive. The Japanese receive from Corea medicines, sweet potatoes, ginseng-root, ivory, and various Chinese productions; and they send in return, salt and dried fish, shell-fish, sea-weed, and some of their manufactures.

The inhabitants of the Loo-Choo Islands not only pay tribute to the Japanese Emperors, but they are even entirely subject to them. Though they have their own governor, their religion, and a high priest of their own, and are judged by their own laws, yet they cannot introduce any innovation, or form any connection with foreigners, without having received permission from the Japanese Emperors.

The Japanese informed us that the Loo-Choo Islands are very populous, and occupy a pretty considerable space. The Loo-Chooans are well disposed, mild and timid, and are more like the Chinese than the Japanese. Their language has some resemblance to the Chinese. The islands produce many plants and vegetables which also grow in Japan and China. The Japanese send them metal wares, japanned goods, salt and dried fish, sea-

weed, European goods, (which are brought to them by the Dutch,) and Chinese productions; and they receive in return tea, tobacco, silk, cotton, and some productions of their manufactures.

The islands of Matsmai, Kunashier, Ectooroop, and Sagaleen, may be called Japanese colonies. About two centuries ago, a Japanese prince bought, from the natives of Matsmai, a portion of the south-west coast of that island. This part of the coast is still called the Japanese country. The other part of the island is called Ainukfuni, or the country of the Ainu, the name of the inhabitants of Matsmai. The abundance of fish found on the coast of Matsmai induced the Japanese to treat with the natives, and to enter into conventions for permission to establish fisheries on the coast; in return for which they furnished them with some necessaries. In this manner did the Japanese spread by degrees over the whole island. The profit which they derived from this farming of the fisheries led them to trade with the islands Kunashier, Ectooroop, Ooroop, and others, as also with the southern part of Sagaleen. The government farmed out this trade, in portions, to merchants; and in this manner the Japanese long maintained intercourse with those islands, without forming a settlement, or thinking on conquest. By chance they heard that the Russians had conquered the northern Kurile Islands, and had extended their possessions further south. The Japanese then resolved to make themselves masters of the south islands, that they might afterwards create no cause for war, or lose the fisheries, which were of so much consequence to them. The inhabitants, not knowing the real cause of these proceedings, attempted to resist them, but

were soon conquered, and made subject to the Emperor of Japan. Since that time the Japanese have built fortresses on the islands, and furnished them with garrisons. The natives are subjects of the Emperor of Japan; but at the same time they enjoy many privileges.

Several travellers doubt that the inhabitants of Matsmai, and the other Kurile Islands, were formerly one people; and affirm that the Ainu and the Kuriles have not the least affinity to each other. I am of opinion that the inhabitants of all the Kurile Islands,* except some tribes on the southern half of Matsmai, are one nation. The chain of islands, lying between the south end of Kamtschatka and Japan, was called the Kurile Islands by the Russians. Perceiving from the coast of Kamschatka, the smoking volcanoes which are on the islands, they gave them the name of Kuriles, from the Russian word Kuril, to smoke. The natives have no name for the whole group, but merely names for each of the single islands. The Kuriles of all the islands, including Matsmai, call themselves Ainu, which signifies, in their language, man: to distinguish the inhabitants of the different islands, they add to this word the name of the island, as, for example, Kunaschiri-Ainu, Iturpu-Ainu; that is, men from Kunaschier, Eetooroop, &c. But when they saw foreigners for the first time, they seemed to doubt whether they were Ainu, that is to say, men; for they did not give them that title, but called them after the name of their respective countries; as Rusko, Russians; and Niponno, Japanese; for they know only those two nations.

* I reckon Matsmai among the Kurile Islands; it is the twenty-second, and last from Kamtschatka.

The inhabitants of all the Kurile Islands, except some tribes on the south part of Matsmai, speak one language, with the exception of such words and names of things as the northern Kuriles first got from the Russians, and those of the south from the Japanese; for with the use of these things the former introduced the Russian, and the latter the Japanese names. With respect to the inhabitants of the southern half of Matsmai, it is observed, that though there are many foreign, particularly Japanese, words in use in their language, it was originally Kurile. Alexei, the Kurile, our companion in imprisonment, frequently conversed with them and though he had difficulty in understanding them, yet it never happened that he did not comprehend them, after some explanation; in a word, the languages of the inhabitants of Matsmai, and of the other Kurile Islands, resemble each other much more than the Russian and Polish. The personal appearance of the inhabitants of Matsmai, and of the other Kurile Islands, shows clearly that they are of one and the same race: the features, the uncommonly brown colour of the hairy body,* the black shining hair, the beard, everything, in short, indicates a common origin. The only difference between them now, is, that the Ainu of Matsmai are handsomer, stronger, and more active than the Kuriles. The former have probably benefitted by a more active life and abundance of good food; for the Japanese, who have traded with them for four centuries, bring them not only rice, but even

* The Russians call the inhabitants of the northern islands Kuriles, and those of the southern, Hairy Kuriles, because the bodies of the latter are covered with hair. Yet the northern Kuriles are not less hairy than the southern. Our Alexei, who was born in one of the northern islands, was more hairy than many inhabitants of Matsmai.

articles of luxury, such as tobacco, sagi, &c. The other Kuriles, particularly those of the northern islands, live in indigence, feed on roots, sea animals and wild fowl, of which they indeed never are in want ; but idleness often hinders them from collecting a proper stock of provisions, so that sometimes they pass several days without food, in indolence and sleep. Even their manners show that the Ainu and Kuriles are one people.

The Kuriles dependant upon Russia are baptized, but they have no other idea of religion than that they must cross themselves in the presence of the Russians, and bow before the images of the Saints, which they, at other times, probably throw aside, with the crosses, or give them to their children to play with. If they see any Russians, they put on their crosses, and give the images the place of honour in their huts. It can, besides, neither be required nor expected that they should be attached to a foreign religion, in which nobody instructs them. The priests visit them once a year, and that not always. They see hardly any Russians but Promyschlenniks (hunters) ; rude men, addicted to drinking, whose conduct and cruel treatment of them inspire no elevated opinion of their religion. Hence the Kuriles, though they pretend, in the presence of the Russians, to know no religion except Christianity, are still attached to their ancient faith. Our Kurile, Alexei, would not confess that his countrymen do not highly honour the Christian religion. He merely said, that the old people consider the faith of their fathers to be the true religion ; and that it resembles the religion of the inhabitants of Matsmai. Our Kuriles wear Russian dresses of all fashions, as they receive them ; for the Ainu, on the other hand, the Japanese prepare a

certain dress, shaped in the Japanese style, and made of hempen cloth, resembling our coarse unbleached sail-cloth. The elders have cotton and silk dresses. If one among them particularly distinguishes himself, the Japanese Government rewards him with a splendid dress, embroidered with gold and silver; or with a sabre in a silver scabbard. The Kuriles and Ainu love to ornament themselves with trifles; which the former receive from the Russians, and the latter from the Japanese; but it is still the custom for the women to paint their lips and eyebrows blue. Their expressions of civility, songs, dances, &c., show the common origin of the Kuriles and of the Ainu.

When the Japanese subdued the Ainu, they left the most important rights of man inviolate. They allowed the people the free exercise of the religion of their forefathers; left them their own laws and government, their own dress and customs in social life. They allowed them to live in separate villages, ruled by chiefs chosen by themselves and confirmed by the Japanese officers.

The Ainu live, in winter, in what are called *Jurten*, or huts of earth; and in summer, in straw huts. They have no benches or seats, but sit on the ground, either on the grass or on Japanese mats. Their food consists of rice, (supplied by the Japanese); of fish, sea animals, seaweed, wild herbs and roots. Many have gardens in the Japanese fashion; others employ themselves in the chase: they kill, with their spears and arrows, bears, deer and hares. They catch birds, and also eat dogs.

The Ainu are, in general, extremely uncleanly. They never wash their hands, faces, or bodies, except when they go into the water to do some kind of labour; and they

never wash their clothes. In this particular, therefore, they are very different from the Japanese.

Polygamy is allowed among them; they have two or three wives, and the elders a still greater number. If it happens that an elder governs several villages, he has a wife in every village. Their children learn nothing except hunting, fishing, the use of the bow and arrow, and the necessary domestic labours. They have no writing, and consequently no written laws; everything is handed down by tradition from one generation to another.

The Japanese Government does not permit the Ainu to make use of powder and fire-arms; their weapons, therefore, only consist of sabres, spears and arrows. They often dip their arrows into the poisonous juice of the *ranunculus flammula*; and then the wound is generally mortal.

The sun and moon are their divinities; but they have neither temples nor priests, nor any religious law. They believe in two spirits; the one good, and the other evil: they invoke the first by a bundle of pulse, which they hang up on the outside of their dwellings.

The principal profit which the Japanese derive from their possessions in the southern Kurile Islands and Sagaleen, arises from the productive fishery. They catch on the coast, in great abundance, herrings, cod, mackarel, a variety of salmon, plaice, and many other kinds of fish, the names of which are unknown to me. Of the marine animals, there are whales, porpoises, sea-lions, sea-bears, sea-otters, and seals. Shell-fish and sea-weed are also gathered in great quantities.

The forests of Matsmai, and of the other islands belonging to Japan, realize no small profit, and it must increase

in future. These forests contain oaks, firs, yews, the tree called the scented tree (a kind of cypress), birch, lime, various kinds of poplars, maple, aspen, mountain-ash, and many other trees.

Of quadrupeds, there are on these islands, and particularly in Matsmai, bears, wolves, hares, rabbits, deer, wild-goats, sables, and field-mice. In summer, geese, ducks and swans visit them. In general, all the same sorts of land and sea-birds are found here as in Kamtschatka.

The Japanese assured us that the mountains in Matsmai contain gold, silver, and lead mines, but that the government did not think it worth while to work those containing gold and silver. The Japanese now get lead from a mine which lies to the west of the city of Matsmai, at the distance of eighteen ri (or seventy-five wersts).

The Japanese call the island of Sagaleen, Karafta, because it is so called by the natives. Till the arrival of La Perouse, the Japanese had no settlements on Sagaleen, and only visited it to trade with the inhabitants. But when that navigator appeared on the coast with two frigates, they, being afraid that the Europeans would settle there, then took possession of the south part of Sagaleen, and represented to the government of China the danger which threatened that country also, should Europeans ever become their neighbours. The two nations agreed to divide the island between them, and prevent the Europeans from taking possession of it. Since that time, the north part has belonged to the Chinese, and the south to the Japanese.

The climate, the productions of the soil, and the manufactories of Sagaleen, are nearly the same as those of

Matsmai; but at Sagaleen, according to its geographical situation, the winter is colder, and the summer less favourable than in Matsmai.

I find it impossible to state the population of Sagaleen and of the Kurile Islands subject to the Japanese, because those natives with whom we were acquainted could furnish us with no information on the subject.

ACCOUNT
OF
VOYAGES TO THE COASTS OF JAPAN;
AND OF
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE,
FOR THE RELEASE OF
CAPTAIN GOLOWNIN AND HIS COMPANIONS.

ACCOUNT
OF
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE JAPANESE.

WITH the circumstances of the capture and imprisonment of Captain Golownin and his unfortunate companions, the reader is already acquainted. That extraordinary affair filled us with anxiety and dismay, and annihilated the hope of the speedy return to our country, with which we had flattered ourselves on leaving Kamtschatka to survey the Kurile Islands.

We had watched Captain Golownin and his escort with our telescopes, from the time they landed till they reached the gates of the fortress. We observed that they were conducted thither by a great number of men, whom, from their brilliant and variously coloured dresses, we supposed to be Japanese officers of distinction.

I entertained not the slightest suspicion of treachery on the part of the Japanese; indeed, so blindly did I rely on their sincerity, that I even made festive preparations for the reception of strangers of consideration; as I

thought it probable that our captain might invite some of the Japanese officers to come on board with him on his return. Towards noon, while these preparations were still in progress, we suddenly heard on shore the report of muskets and loud shouting. We saw a multitude of people rush out of the gates of the fortress, and run towards the boat in which Captain Golownin had landed. We could clearly distinguish through our telescopes that these people hurried forward without any order, and that they seized hold of the mast, the sail, the rudder, and all the rigging of the boat. We could also perceive them dragging one of the boat's crew and the Kurile into the fortress through the gates, which were then shut upon them. In a few minutes, profound silence prevailed; the whole of the buildings, down nearly to the water's edge, were hung with striped cotton cloth; so that we were prevented from seeing what passed behind this curtain, and no one appeared in front of it.

Without a moment's delay, I gave orders for weighing anchor, and stood in towards the town, expecting that the Japanese, on perceiving a sloop of war so near them, would perhaps abandon their intention, enter into negotiations, and deliver up our friends. But as the depth of the water suddenly diminished to two fathoms and a half, we were compelled to cast anchor at a tolerable distance from the shore; near enough, indeed, to make our shot reach the works, but too far off to enable us to do them any serious injury. Whilst we were preparing for action, the Japanese opened their batteries on the heights, but their shot passed over us. We fired about one hundred and seventy guns, and observed that our shot reached the batteries, but without producing any important effect, as

the whole works towards the sea were surrounded by a very thick earthen wall. We, however, sustained no injury from the enemy's fire. Considering it, therefore, unnecessary to remain longer in this situation, we weighed anchor. The Japanese then became bolder and fired away more spiritedly, in proportion as we receded from the town. As I had not a sufficient number of men to venture a landing, I could undertake nothing decisive for the deliverance of our companions. We were only fifty-one in number, including officers. All on board were exasperated in the highest degree by the perfidy of the Japanese, and we were all ready to storm the fortress and execute a dreadful retaliation. Animated by such feelings, we might easily have visited the enemy with serious consequences. But, then again, we reflected that the ship must have been left unprotected, and might have been set on fire; in which case the failure or success of our attempt would never have been known in Russia. We, therefore, cast anchor without the range of the guns of the fortress, and determined on writing to our captain. In our letter we expressed our grief for his capture, and our indignation at the conduct of the commander of Kunashier, whose aggression was a direct infringement of the law of nations. We informed him that we would return immediately to Okotzk, to make known what had happened, but that we were at the same time all prepared to risk our lives for his deliverance. All the officers signed this letter, and it was deposited in the cask which had been placed near the harbour. Towards evening we moved farther from the shore, and held ourselves in readiness throughout the whole of the night, in case of an attack from the enemy.

Next morning we perceived, by help of our telescopes, that the Japanese were removing their property of every kind on packhorses, probably from an idea that we intended to set fire to the town. At eight o'clock in the morning, as senior officer, I assumed the command of the ship, and requested the officers to state in writing what they considered the best means to which we could resort for the deliverance of our countrymen. They all concurred in opinion that it would be advisable to discontinue hostilities, which could have no useful result, but might render the fate of the prisoners worse, or, perhaps, occasion the sacrifice of their lives, if the enemy were otherwise inclined to preserve them; and that it would be advisable to return to Okotsk, and to obtain from our government sufficient means either for delivering our unfortunate comrades, or for avenging their death.

When daylight set in, I sent the second pilot, Srednago, in a boat to the cask, for the purpose of seeing whether the letter we had placed in it the day before was removed; but before he reached the cask, he heard drums beating within the fortress, and he returned for fear of being taken by the Japanese baidars. In fact, we soon perceived a baidar put off from the shore, and throw out a new cask with a black pennant. We weighed anchor, stood into the harbour, and manned a boat for the purpose of examining whether the cask contained a letter, or any thing by which we might obtain some idea of the fate that had befallen our companions. We ascertained, however, that the cask was attached to a rope, the other end of which extended to the shore, and by which it was imperceptibly drawn back, with the view of enticing our boat nearer land, and thus getting possession of her. We once

more cast anchor, and were again plunged into all the torments of incertitude. We now deemed it expedient to attempt to conciliate the Japanese, by making it appear that we considered them incapable of acting towards prisoners in a manner inconsistent with the practice of civilized powers. With this view I dispatched Midshipman Filatoff in a boat to the promontory, with the linen, the razors, and some books belonging to the officers, all well packed up: I also sent the clothes of the sailors, each packet having a particular superscription, with orders to leave these things in one of the fishing villages.

On the 14th of July we left the bay, which the officers of the 'Diana' appropriately named the Bay of Deceit, and we steered our course direct to Okotzk, surrounded by a thick fog.

On the sixteenth day after our departure from Kunashier, the town of Okotzk began to rise to our view. In order to lose no time, I ordered a signal to be made, by hoisting a flag and firing a gun, and we lay-to for a pilot. The commandant of the port soon sent out Lieutenant Schachoff, with instructions to conduct us to the best anchoring ground. I immediately reported to the commandant of the port, Captain Minitzky, the misfortune which had befallen Golownin, who was bound to him as well as to me by the strongest ties of friendship, ever since we had served together in the English navy. Minitzky participated most sincerely in our feelings, and to him I was indebted for much prudent advice and active co-operation.

In September I proceeded, by the advice of Captain Minitzky, to Irkutsk, with the intention of going to St. Petersburg, to inform the Minister of Marine of all

that had occurred, and to receive his orders respecting a fresh voyage to the Japanese coasts for the liberation of our countrymen.

On my arrival at Irkutsk, I found that the civil governor, Treskin, had already received my account from the Commandant of Okotzk, and had long since forwarded it to the superior authorities in St. Petersburg, accompanied with a request that a new expedition should be dispatched to the Japanese coasts, for the liberation of the prisoners. Instead therefore of proceeding to St. Petersburg, I was induced to await in Irkutsk the final decision on the subject. Governor Treskin evinced great sympathy for Golownin's misfortune, and assisted me in drawing up the plan of the expedition, which was immediately forwarded to Governor-General Pestel for his inspection. However, amidst the pressure of political affairs at that period, the sanction of the Emperor could not be obtained. I was ordered to return to Okotzk, and, with the permission of the proper authorities, to proceed to complete our still unfinished survey, in the sloop 'Diana,' and also to visit the Island of Kunashier, to ascertain, if possible, the fate of our companions.

During the winter, the Japanese, Leonsaimo, with whom the reader has already become acquainted, through Captain Golownin's narrative, was, by the express command of the civil governor, brought to Irkutsk, where he experienced a very kind reception. Great pains were taken to convince him of the amicable intentions of our government towards Japan; and as he understood Russian tolerably well, we apparently succeeded. He assured us that the Russians would be taken care of in Japan, and that the investigation of their case would soon be brought by his

government to a happy conclusion. In company with this Japanese I returned to Okotzk.

The 'Diana' was fitted out with all possible expedition ; and on the 18th of July, 1812, when everything was prepared for our departure, I received into the ship six Japanese, who had been shipwrecked on the coasts of Kamtschatka, and whom I wished to convey back to their country. Some circumstances attending the shipwreck of these men deserve to be mentioned. They were wrecked in the same year in which our comrades were made prisoners on the Japanese coast ; and, Providence seemed to have expressly ordained that, out of the whole crew, there should survive only a number equal to that of our countrymen in Japan. According to European views, it might, therefore, be supposed that an exchange could now easily have been made, but the sequel will show how different the Japanese laws are, in this respect, from ours.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, on the 22nd of July, we set sail, in company with the 'Sotik' brig. My intention was to take the shortest course to Kunashier, by the Pikoff Channel, or, at least, by the Straits of Defries.

After a voyage somewhat retarded by adverse winds and thick fogs, we first saw land on the afternoon of the 12th of August. This land was the north end of the island Oorooop, but we could not pass Defries Straits until the 15th of August ; and unfavourable weather detained us thirteen days on the coasts of Eetooroop, Tshikotana, and Kunashier, so that we did not arrive in the roadstead, which we had the year before named the Bay of Deceit, until the 28th of August.

As we passed, at gun-shot distance, the works for the

defence of the harbour, we observed that a new battery of fourteen cannons was erected in two tiers, one above the other. As soon as we appeared in the bay, the Japanese concealed themselves; they did not fire, nor could we perceive any movement whatever in the place. The whole of the buildings fronting the shore were hung with striped cotton cloth, so that we could only see the roofs of the large barracks. All their boats were drawn on shore. From their not firing, we began to hope that the Japanese now entertained a more favourable opinion of us than before, and we cast anchor at two miles from the works.

I have already mentioned, that the native of Japan, called Leonsaimo, whom we had with us, understood something of the Russian language. He had been carried away six years before by Lieutenant Chwo-stoff. With his assistance, we proposed to draw up a short letter to the governor of the island, consisting of an extract from a memorandum which the civil governor of Irkutsk had written. It stated the reason which had induced our government to send the 'Diana' to the Japanese coasts; and after describing the treachery practised against Captain Golownin, concluded in the following terms :

“Notwithstanding these unexpected hostile proceedings, we are bound to fulfil the commands of our monarch, and to bring back all the Japanese who suffered shipwreck on the coast of Kamtschatka; whereby it will be evident that we do not entertain any hostile intention, and we persuade ourselves that the Russian prisoners will also be restored to us, as innocent persons, who have done injury to no one. But if, contrary to our expectations, such liberation cannot take place consequence of its

being necessary to await the decision of the Japanese Government, or owing to other circumstances, we will return next year with the same request."

In the translation of this letter, Leonsaimo, in whom we had placed all our hopes, betrayed an evident design to practise some deception. A few days before our arrival at Kunashier, I had requested him to set about the translation, but he constantly pretended that the letter was so diffuse, he could not translate it. "I will translate what you say, but I will make a short letter. With us a letter must not be long." I was obliged to let him have his way.

On the day of our arrival at Kunashier, I called him into the cabin and requested the letter. He gave it to me on half a sheet of paper, which was entirely written over. As in his hieroglyphic mode of writing a single character sometimes expressed a sentence, the half sheet probably contained a very circumstantial description of all that he considered necessary to communicate to his government, but it might also prove very disadvantageous to the settlement of our business. I told him that the letter appeared much too long for my object, and that he had, without doubt, introduced a great deal which related solely to his own affairs. I requested him, if he had no objection, to read it to me in Russian. He did not seem in the least offended at this request, but told me that the paper comprised in fact three letters; the first, which was short, explained our business; the second contained an account of the shipwreck of the Japanese; and the third gave a description of the misfortunes he had himself experienced in Russia. I told him that it was only necessary at present to send the first letter, and that the others must be deferred until another opportunity; but that

if he was desirous they should be all sent together, he must give me a copy of them. He immediately copied the first without hesitation, but stopped at the others, saying they were too difficult. "How can they be too difficult," said I, since you wrote them yourself?" He answered me angrily, "I will sooner destroy them." He immediately took up a penknife, cut off the part of the paper on which they were written, put it in his mouth, and after chewing it with a cunning and spiteful expression of countenance, in a few moments swallowed it in my presence. The contents of the paper thus remained to us a mystery; but what we had, above all to regret, was that we could place no reliance on this malignant and artful creature.

I now wished to ascertain whether he had actually spoken of our business on the remaining piece of paper. During our voyage I had frequently conversed with him on many circumstances respecting Japan, and had noted down the Japanese of a great number of Russian words: I had also, out of mere curiosity, made him try to pronounce and write several Russian family names, and, of course, that of my unfortunate friend, Wassili Michailowitsch Golownin, was not omitted. I now requested him to show me the place in the letter where this name stood. He did so: I compared the characters with those I already possessed, and thus convinced myself that the letter really treated of Golownin. I now commissioned one of our Japanese to deliver the letter, in person, to the governor of the island. We put him ashore, opposite our anchoring-place. He was immediately surrounded by hairy Kuriles, who had probably concealed themselves under the thick high grass, for the purpose of watching our motions. He accompanied them

to the fortress ; and scarcely had he approached the gate, when the batteries began to fire upon the bay. These were the first shots discharged since our arrival. I asked Leonsiamo why they fired, when they saw that only a single man from the Russian ship was, in confidence, approaching the town. He answered: "In Japan it is so: it is the law or custom: they do not mean to kill, but only fire." This unexpected proceeding on the part of the Japanese annihilated every hope I had formed of being able to negotiate with them. At first, when we approached the fortress, they did not fire; but they had now begun to fire upon our flag of truce in a manner which was not easy to be explained, but which indicated nothing favourable. No movement was made on board the ship; and the boat which had conveyed the Japanese ashore had returned, and lay alongside. At the gate of the fortress he was surrounded by a multitude of people, and we soon lost sight of him. Three days passed away in vain expectation of his return.

During the whole of this time we were constantly occupied, from morning to night, in observing the shore through telescopes, so that not even the smallest objects, from the place where the Japanese had landed to the fortress, could escape our notice. We often imagined we saw him, and cried out with joy, "Here comes our messenger!" But deceptions of this kind were, sometimes, of long duration, particularly after sunset, and in foggy weather, when the refraction of the rays of light so wonderfully increased the size of objects, that we often mistook a crow with extended wings, for a Japanese in his loose gown. Leonsaimo, himself, frequently stood several hours together with the telescope in his hand, and seemed

much surprised that nobody came to us. The fortress remained closed like a tomb.

On the approach of night we always prepared the ship for action, in case of attack; and the deep silence was disturbed only by the echo of the watch-word of our sentinels, which resounded through the bay, and informed the enemy that we were not slumbering. As we were in want of fresh water, I ordered a boat to put ashore, with armed men, for the purpose of filling our water casks; and a second Japanese was also, at the same time, dispatched on the same mission as the former, to explain to the governor why the Russian ships had come to these coasts. I requested Leonsaimo to send with him a short note; but he declined doing so, saying, "As no answer has been returned to the first letter, I fear to write again, as it would be against our laws." He, however, advised me to draw up a memorandum in the Russian language, which the Japanese who bore it might translate. I did so. In the course of a few hours this second messenger returned, saying that he had been admitted to the governor, and had presented the paper I had written; which, however he would not receive. He then told the governor that the Russians had sent some men on shore to get water. "Very well," answered he, "let them take water; and as for you, go back where you came from." He said no more, and departed.

Our Japanese had spent some time among a number of hairy Kuriles; but as he did not understand their language, he could learn nothing from them. He told us that the Japanese remained at a distance, and did not venture to approach him; and that, finally, the Kuriles had turned him out of the gate of the fortress by force.

The poor fellow told me that he wished to have remained on land, and that he had begged the governor, with tears in his eyes, to allow him to stay at least for one night; but was refused. We therefore concluded that our first messenger had met with the same reception, and that, from the fear of experiencing no better treatment from us, in consequence of bringing no news of our comrades, he had concealed himself among the hills, or had, perhaps, gone to some other town on the island. I wished, on a subsequent day, to provide myself with more water, and for that purpose sent the remaining empty casks on shore, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The Japanese, who attentively watched all our motions, began to fire at random, though our boats were already near the shore. In order to avoid the least motive for hostilities, I recalled the boats by a signal, which being observed by the Japanese: the firing then immediately ceased.

We had now been seven days in the Bay of Deceit, and it was but too evident that a decided distrust of our intentions prevailed; for the commandant, either from reluctance on his own part, or by order of his government, refused to hold any communication with us.

We recollected that we had, in the preceding year, left several articles belonging to our unhappy friends in a fishing village, and we wished to ascertain whether they had been carried away. I accordingly directed Lieutenant Filatoff, who commanded the brig 'Sotik,' to land and visit the village, accompanied by a party of armed men. As the brig approached the shore, firing commenced from the batteries, which, however, owing to the great distance, proved ineffectual. After a few hours had elapsed, Mr. Filatoff sent to inform me that the house in the fishing village, where the articles had been deposited, was quite

empty. This seemed a favourable omen, and we were cheered by the hope that our comrades were still in existence. On the following day I again sent the same Japanese ashore, to inform the commandant why a landing had been made by the brig. With considerable difficulty I prevailed on Leonsaimo to translate into the Japanese language a short note, in which I requested that the governor would grant me an interview. I wished likewise to state my reason for sending the brig to the fishing village, but the obstinate Leonsaimo refused to make this explanation. The Japanese returned at an early hour on the following morning. The governor had received the letter, but instead of returning a written answer, he merely said: "Well, well, the Russian captain may hold an interview with me in the city." This amounted to a decided refusal; at least, it would have been absurd in me to have accepted the invitation. On being informed of our reason for landing at the fishing village, the governor observed: "What things? They were taken away immediately." This equivocal answer gave us once more reason to fear that our unfortunate friends were no longer living. Besides, our Japanese messenger was not suffered to pass the night in the city, and was obliged to lie down among the grass, near the shore, opposite to the 'Diana.' To carry on any further correspondence by means of Japanese, who understood not a word of Russian, appeared perfectly useless. We had hitherto received no written answer to any of our letters, and we were therefore reduced to the alternative of again quitting the shores of Japan, harassed by the most tormenting uncertainty. Leonsaimo, indeed, understood Russian, but as he was our only interpreter, we did not wish to dispatch him to the commandant, except

in a case of the most urgent necessity, lest he should be forcibly detained, or, on his own part, reluctant to return.

I, therefore, thought of another scheme. It appeared to me, that, without any violation of our pacific conduct towards the Japanese, we might stop one of the vessels which we had frequently observed sailing near us, and thus endeavour to communicate with some persons on board, from whom we might obtain information respecting the fate of our comrades. We anxiously watched for the space of three days, but no ship appeared within sight, and we concluded that, as the autumn had set in, the Japanese had, for the meanwhile, suspended their navigation.

Our only hope rested now on Leonsaimo, but I wished, if possible, to ascertain his real sentiments before I should send him ashore, and with this view I told him that, as I intended to put to sea on the following morning, it would be advisable for him to write a letter to his friends. On hearing this his countenance suddenly changed, and with evident embarrassment he thanked me for the information, saying: "Well, I will merely write to tell them that they never need expect to see me again." Then with the most violent agitation he exclaimed: "I will put an end to my days; will go no more to sea; I must die among the Russians." To detain a man in such a state of mind could be of little use to us; and it was impossible not to see just ground for the feeling he manifested, considering the sufferings which he had endured, during his six years captivity in Russia. There was, indeed, reason to fear, that as he was bereft of every hope of returning to his native country, he would not fail, in a fit of despair, to commit suicide. I accordingly resolved to employ him to

lay our propositions once more before the governor, with the view of prevailing on him to grant me an interview.

On being made acquainted with my determination, he solemnly promised that, if not forcibly detained, he would return and bring me all the information he could collect. As there was at least a probability that he might not be allowed to return, I thought it advisable to adopt the following precautions: I directed that he should be accompanied by his countryman, who had already been sent on shore, and I provided him with three cards. On the first of these cards were written the words, "Captain Golownin, and the rest of the Russians are in Kunashier;" on the second, "They have been removed to Matsmai, Nangasaky, or Yeddo;" and on the third, "They are dead." It was agreed that, in case of Leonsaimo being detained, he should give one of these cards to the Japanese who accompanied him, cancelling or adding such words as the information he should obtain might require.

We landed them on the 4th of September, and, to our great joy, we saw them both quit the fortress on the following day. We immediately sent the boat ashore for them; we were cheered by the hope of hearing some welcome tidings of our friends. Meanwhile, we watched them closely with our telescopes, and to our astonishment perceived that the other Japanese quitted Leonsaimo, and, turning in a lateral direction, concealed himself among the thick grass. Leonsaimo came on board the ship alone, and on my inquiring where his companion was, he replied that he knew nothing of him. With eager anxiety we all thronged to hear his message, but he requested to have an interview with me in the cabin. He then, in the presence of Lieutenant Rudakoff,

stated all the difficulties he had experienced in gaining access to the governor, who, without hearing a word he had to say, enquired, "Why the captain had not come on shore himself?" Leonsaimo replied, that he knew nothing of my reason for not doing so; but that the object of his errand was to learn what had become of Captain Golownin and the other Russian prisoners. Harassed between hope and fear, we waited to hear the answer of the governor, but Leonsaimo wished first to be assured that no harm would befall himself on disclosing the truth. I assured him that he had nothing to fear, and he at length pronounced the dreadful words: "They are all dead!"

This information plunged us into the deepest affliction, and we could not, without horror, cast our eyes towards the shore where the blood of our friends had been shed. As I had received no instruction how to act in such a case, it appeared to me that I should be justified in taking vengeance on the faithless Japanese, being well convinced that our government would never suffer their atrocities to pass unpunished. I wished, however, to obtain more certain evidence than the mere words of Leonsaimo, and accordingly I sent him once more to the fortress with orders to obtain from the commandant a written confirmation of his message. We, moreover, promised immediately to liberate him and the other Japanese we still had on board, in case we should resolve to adopt hostile measures: at the same time I gave orders that both vessels should be prepared for action.

Leonsaimo was to have returned that day, but we saw nothing of him. The following day likewise elapsed, and he did not appear; the expectation of his return was,

therefore, very uncertain; while, at the same time, his absence still left subject to a shade of doubt the sad tidings we had received. I, therefore, resolved not to quit the bay until we should fall in with a vessel, or some individual, from whom we could ascertain the truth.

On the morning of the 6th of September, we descried a Japanese baidare. I immediately dispatched Lieutenant Rudakoff to capture it, placing under his command Messrs. Srednago and Sawelieff, two officers, both of whom volunteered their services on this first hostile proceeding. Our boat quickly overtook the baidare, and captured it near the land. The crew immediately jumped overboard and escaped; two Japanese and a hairy Kurile were, however, found by Mr. Sawelieff concealed among the bushes on the shore, but from them we could obtain no information. When I began to interrogate them, they fell on their knees, and answered every question with the hissing exclamation: "Sche! sche!" No pains were spared to manifest kindness to them, but all our endeavours to extract information proved fruitless.

On the following morning, we saw a large Japanese vessel steering towards the harbour. I forthwith dispatched Lieutenant Rudakoff with express orders not to resort to violence, but merely to terrify the crew; and, when they surrendered, to conduct the captain to me. After a few hours had elapsed, during which no resistance appeared to be made, we observed that Lieutenant Filatoff had obtained possession of the sloop, and was towing her to our anchoring ground.

On his return, Filatoff reported to me as follows: When our boats approached the Japanese ship, she

seemed to have a great number of armed men on board. As she took no notice of being hailed, but continued her course, some shots were fired towards her, but in the air. The Japanese immediately slackened sail and lay-to; and as the ship was close in shore, several of the crew jumped overboard, in the hope of saving themselves by swimming. Those who were near our boats were picked up, the rest either swam ashore or were drowned.

The whole crew of the Japanese vessel amounted to about sixty individuals, but only the commander was brought to me. His rich yellow dress, his sabre, and other things, indicated that he was a person of distinction. I immediately conducted him to the cabin. He saluted me according to the Japanese fashion, and with demonstrations of high respect. I assured him that he had no cause for apprehension, and with great frankness of manner he seated himself on a chair in the cabin. I then interrogated him in the Japanese language, of which I had learned a little from Leonsaimo. He informed me that his name was Tachatay-Kachi, and that he enjoyed the rank of a Sindosnamotsh, a term which intimated that he was the commander and owner of several ships; ten he stated belonged entirely to himself. He had come from the Island of Eetooroop, and was proceeding to the harbour of Chakodade in the Island of Matsmai, with a cargo of dried fish, but contrary winds had obliged him to put into the Bay of Kunashier.

In order to make him more readily acquainted with everything relative to our proceedings, I showed him the letter which Leonsaimo had written to the commandant of the island. Having read it, he suddenly exclaimed, "Captain Moor and five Russians are now in the city of

Matsmai." He then informed me when they had been brought from Kunashier, through what towns they had been conveyed, and how long they had remained in each place, at the same time giving me a description of Mr. Moor's person. One circumstance alone tended to dispirit us: he did not mention a word of Captain Golownin. We reflected, that in his situation, he might naturally wish to persuade us that our countrymen were still living: yet, how could he invent so many circumstances in the space of a few minutes. On the other hand, we could in no way account for Leonsaimo's conduct. What could induce him to fabricate a tale so distressing to our feelings? Perhaps he was afraid of being detained on board the 'Diana,' had he informed us that our comrades were still living? But might he not have sent back one of the cards, without returning himself? It was possible, after all, such a message had really been sent by the governor of the island, that he might rid himself of all further trouble; and fear might, on the second occasion, have prevented Leonsaimo from returning.

Although we were in a state of complete uncertainty, there seemed to be a probability that our comrades were still living, and I accordingly abandoned all thoughts of hostilities.

I resolved to convey Tachatay-Kachi to Kamtschatka, hoping, that in the course of the winter we might, through him, obtain some positive information respecting the fate of our companions, and the views of the Japanese Government. He seemed to be far superior in rank to any of his countrymen with whom we had hitherto communicated, and we consequently supposed that he

was better acquainted with the affairs of his country. We afterwards learned that he was a very rich merchant; and that, being commander of his own ships, he enjoyed, according to the Japanese laws, privileges corresponding with those of an officer of state.

I informed him, that he must hold himself in readiness to accompany me to Russia, and explained the circumstances which compelled me to make such an arrangement. He understood me perfectly well; and when I proceeded to state my belief that Captain Golownin, Mr. Moor, and the rest of the Russian prisoners, had been put to death, he suddenly interrupted me, exclaiming, "That is not true. Captain Moor and five Russians are living in Matsmai, where they are well treated, and enjoy the freedom of walking about the city, accompanied by two officers." When I intimated that we intended to take him with us, he replied with astonishing coolness, "Well, well, I am ready;" and merely requested, that on our arrival in Russia he might continue to live with me. This I promised he should do, and likewise that I would convey him back to Japan in the ensuing year. He then seemed perfectly reconciled to his unlooked-for destiny.

The four Japanese who still remained on board the ship understood not a word of Russian, and were besides so ill, that they would, in all probability, have perished, had they wintered in Kamtschatka. I, therefore, thought it advisable to set them at liberty; and having furnished them with every necessary, I ordered them to be put on shore, hoping that they would, in gratitude, give a good account of the Russians to their countrymen. In their stead, I determined to take four seamen from the Japanese vessel, who might be useful in attending on Tachatay-

Kachi, to whom I left the selection of the men. But he earnestly entreated that none of the seamen might be removed from his ship, observing, that he feared they would die of grief, through the dread they entertained of the Russians. The earnestness of his solicitations on this subject, led me, in some measure, to doubt that our comrades were really living in Matsmai, and I repeated, in a decided manner, my determination to take four of the seamen on board the 'Diana.' He then begged that I would accompany him to his ship. When we went on board he assembled the whole of his crew in the cabin; and having seated himself cross-legged on a long cushion, which was placed on a fine mat, requested that I would take my place beside him. The sailors all knelt down before us, and he delivered a long speech, in which he stated that it would be necessary for some of them to accompany us to Russia.

Here a very affecting scene ensued. Several of the seamen approached him, with their heads bowed down, and with great earnestness whispered something to him. All were bathed in tears; even Tachatay-Kachi, who had hitherto evinced calmness and resolution, seemed now to be deeply distressed, and began to weep. I, for some time, hesitated to carry my resolution into effect, and was only induced to adhere to it by the consideration that I should hereafter have the opportunity of interrogating each individual separately, and, probably, thereby ascertaining the real fate of our comrades. I had, however, in other respects, no reason to repent of this determination; for our prisoner, who was a man of rank, and accustomed to live in a style of Asiatic luxury, would have experienced serious inconvenience on board our vessel, without

his Japanese attendants. Two of the seamen were always, by turns, near his person. As he knew the reasons which obliged me to convey him to Russia, and the message which Leonsaimo had received from the commandant of the island, I begged that he would write to the latter a minute explanation of all that had taken place. This he immediately did.

Tachatay-Kachi, and the sailors he selected, were soon as much at their ease as though our ship had been their own, and we, on our side, spared no efforts to convince them that we considered the Japanese not as a hostile, but as a friendly-disposed nation, with whom our good understanding was only accidentally interrupted. The same day we received on board, at my invitation, from the captured vessel, a Japanese lady, who had been the inseparable companion of Tachatay-Kachi, on his voyage from Chakodade, his place of residence, to Eetooroop. She was extremely desirous of seeing our ship, and the strange people and polite enemies, as she styled us, and to witness our friendly intercourse with her countrymen. A Japanese lady was also, to us, no inconsiderable object of curiosity. When she came on board she appeared very timid and embarrassed. I requested Tachatay-Kachi to conduct her into my cabin, and as she advanced I took her by the other hand. On reaching the cabin-door she wished to take off her straw shoes; but as there were neither mats nor carpets in my cabin, I explained to her, by signs, that this peculiar mark of politeness might be dispensed with among us. On entering the cabin she placed both hands on her head, with the palms outwards, and saluted us by bending her body very low. I conducted her to a chair, and Kachi requested her to sit

down. Fortunately for this unexpected visitor, there was on board our vessel a young and agreeable Russian lady, the wife of our surgeon's mate. The Japanese lady seemed highly pleased on being introduced to her, and they quickly formed an intimacy. Our countrywoman endeavoured to entertain the foreigner with what the women of all countries delight in: she showed her her trinkets. Our visitor behaved with all the ease of a well bred European. She examined the ornaments with great curiosity, and expressed her admiration by an agreeable smile. But the fair complexion of our countrywoman seemed most of all to attract her attention. She passed her hands over her face, as though she suspected it had been painted, and with a smile, exclaimed, "goee! goee!" signifying pretty. Observing that our visitor had decked herself with some of the trinkets, I held a looking-glass before her, that she might see how they became her. The Russian lady was standing immediately behind her, and seeing the difference of their complexions, the Japanese immediately thrust the glass aside, and good humouredly said, "varee! varee!" (not pretty.) She herself might have been called handsome; her countenance was of the oval form, her features regular, and her little mouth, when open, disclosed a set of shining black lackered teeth. Her black eyebrows, which had the appearance of having been pencilled, over-arched a pair of bright dark eyes, which were by no means very deeply seated. Her black hair was rolled up in the form of a turban, without any ornament, except a few small tortoise-shell combs. She was about the middle height, and elegantly formed. Her dress consisted of six wadded silk garments, like dressing-gowns, each was fastened round the lower part of the

waist by a separate band, and drawn closely together from the girdle downwards. They were all of different colours, and the upper one was black. Her articulation was slow, and her voice soft. Her countenance was expressive and interesting, and she was altogether calculated to make a very agreeable impression. She could not be older than eighteen. We entertained her with fine green tea and sweetmeats, of which she partook moderately. On her taking leave I made her some presents, with which she appeared to be very much pleased. I hinted to our countrywoman that she should embrace her. When the Japanese observed what was intended, she ran into her arms, and kissed her with a smile. She was landed at Kunashier, by the same baidare which carried Tachatay-Kachi's letter.

I now confidently expected that the governor of the island would send a written communication on board, if not to me, at least to Tachatay-Kachi, and I also hoped that he would order Leonsaimo, whom Kachi had expressly mentioned, to return and serve as our interpreter; but instead of receiving any answer, four guns were a few days after fired at our boats, when they put on shore for water. We could, therefore, only conclude, that the governor had received orders to hold no communication with us. I despised this inefficient firing; and wishing to examine all my prisoners thoroughly, I determined not to engage in any rash enterprise which might raise impediments in the way of our main object.

As the weather continued fine, I ordered the anchor to be weighed; but Tachatay-Kachi requested that I would previously allow the crew of his vessel the gratification of viewing the 'Diana.' They were accordingly conducted over the ship, and were very curious to be made acquainted

with the use of everything that was new to them ; they particularly admired the mechanism of our running rigging, the bold climbing of our sailors up the futtock shrouds, and the still more daring manner in which they ran from the tops out upon the yards, or ascended to the mast-head. I gave orders that they should be taken into my cabin, where they made the same demonstrations of respect as if I had been present. Some Russian brandy was presented to them in silver cups, the influence of which soon rendered them more lively and unreserved in their manners. They contrived to make themselves understood by our sailors, and seemed much pleased with our cloth-dresses, bright metal buttons, and coloured cravats, which they prevailed on the seamen to exchange for some of their Japanese trifles. Tachatay-Kachi observed some empty casks on deck, and proposed that they should be sent on board his ship to be filled. His seamen immediately carried off all our empty casks, and brought them back filled with excellent fresh water. Our Japanese visitors then took leave of us, and returned to their vessel, singing as they rowed back. We were much gratified at finding ourselves on so friendly a footing with men whom we had, a short time before, looked upon as enemies.

In the evening we got under weigh, and immediately all the batteries opened their fire. It was probably suspected that we intended to approach the fortress with hostile intentions ; but we were at so great a distance from the batteries, that the manner in which the Japanese threw away their shot was to us truly laughable. Our guest likewise laughed, observing, "Kunashier is a bad place for the Russians ; Nangasaky is better."

On the following day adverse winds obliged us to cast

anchor in the bay, at the distance of more than seven leagues from the town : we anxiously watched, with our telescopes, for the return of the baidare which had been sent on shore. Kachi, however, assured us that the baidare would not be allowed to come out while our vessel remained in sight of the island.

On the 11th of September we made sail, directing our course towards Kamtschatka. During our passage we encountered several violent storms, which about this season of the year are to be expected in these latitudes.

As Tachatay-Kachi occupied the same cabin with me, I had every opportunity of communicating with him. For a long time I strove in vain to collect from him some information respecting Golownin. He listened very attentively to the description I gave of his rank and name, and constantly repeated, "I know nothing of him." I was aware that our Russian family names must sound strangely to the ear of a Japanese. I endeavoured to pronounce the name "Golownin" in all the different ways I could think of, and at length, to my indescribable joy, Kachi exclaimed, "Choworin ! I have heard of him ; he is likewise in Matsmai. The Japanese suppose him to be a Russian Danmio" (that is to say, an officer of the first rank). He then proceeded to inform me what he had heard respecting Golownin, from persons who had seen him : "He is," said he, "tall, of dignified deportment, more reserved in his manners than Mr. Moor, and is not fond of smoking tobacco, though the Japanese have given him the best that can be procured. Mr. Moor, on the contrary, loves to smoke a pipe, and understands our language tolerably well."

This minute description banished all our doubts, and we thanked Providence for having sent us a guest capable

of communicating such welcome intelligence. I was now doubly overjoyed on reflecting that I had doubted the truth of the answer brought by Leonsaimo, and had not proceeded to hostilities, as I at first intended. I learned from our prisoner, that he was accustomed to sail every year from Nippon to Eetooroop, with goods of various kinds, and to return with cargoes of fish; but I was much astonished at his not knowing Leonsaimo. I suspected that I did not pronounce the name rightly, and showed him my memorandum book, in which Leonsaimo had himself written his own name, and that of his native city, Matsmai. Kachi read the signature, and declared that no merchant of that name had ever lived at Eetooroop; he added, that he knew every one on the island, and even told me their names. I now repeated all the names to which Leonsaimo had laid claim, viz., Nagatshema, Tomogero, and Chorodsee. On hearing the latter name, Kachi smiled, and exclaimed with astonishment, "What, Chorodsee! I know him; and so he has represented himself in Russia as an Oyagodo?" (a chief over the Kuriles). "Yes," answered I, "and he stated that he was a wealthy man." "He never possessed a single baidare," replied Kachi; he was a Banin (an overseer of a fishery), and had also the charge of the correspondence, as he was a good penman. He is not a native of Matsmai, but of the principality of Nambu, and is married to the daughter of a hairy Kurile." Kachi uttered these last words with a contemptuous expression, and drew his hand across his throat, as if to signify that Leonsaimo would forfeit his head were it known in Japan that he assumed a rank to which he had no claim.

This unexpected discovery induced me to believe that the Japanese whom I had dispatched to the governor

of the island, might have yielded to evil instigation, or acted treacherously, in order to gratify base revenge. It besides appeared, that I was wrong in attributing the escape of the Japanese, who had left Leonsaimo near the fortress, to the fear of coming back to us; for I learned from Tachatay-Kachi, that Japanese subjects who have lived more than one year in a foreign country, are, on their return home, prohibited from returning, under any pretence, to their own families, but are sent to Yeddo to undergo an examination, where they are generally detained for the remainder of their lives, without the hope of ever seeing their friends again. Our Japanese had lived about a year in Kamtschatka, and consequently that circumstance accounted for their non-appearance.

On leaving the stormy coasts of Japan, we soon found ourselves among the Kurile Islands, off La Bussole Straits, so named by La Perouse. The weather was sufficiently clear to enable us to make astronomical observations. We purposely sailed through these wide straits into the sea of Okotzk, and observed the western coasts of some of the islands, situated towards the north. We then passed into the eastern ocean, through an unexplored strait, between the islands of Roikoke and Matau. As this strait had, as yet, received no designation on any chart, I gave it the name of Golownin, as a mark of respect to our unfortunate captain, who has contributed so much to give celebrity to the object of our voyages in these seas.

On the 22nd of September we discovered the top of the extinguished volcano of Kamtschatka, which was covered with snow. The valleys were, however, beautifully verdant, and the temperature of the atmosphere was mild. Kachi observed, that in the course of his voyages to

Eetooroop and Oorooop, in the same season of the year, he had seen more snow on the coasts of these islands, and had experienced a degree of cold far more severe. We approached the Bay of Awatscha with favourable winds, and entered the harbour of Petropaulowskoi on the following day.

My first object was to send our good Japanese on shore. He appeared extremely low-spirited, but this I attributed to the fatigue he had endured on the voyage. But his distress arose from a very different cause. Our friends came from the shore to congratulate us on our safe arrival, and Kachi now began to lament his fate. Judging from the laws of his own country, he supposed that he would be kept as close a prisoner as our comrades in Japan, and was much astonished at being allowed to reside not merely in the same house, but in the same apartment with me.

On the 12th of October we went ashore together, after having given an entertainment on board the ship. Thus terminated our first voyage to Japan, the result of which was the satisfaction of knowing that our comrades were still in existence, and that proved an ample reward for all the hardships we had undergone.

As Tachatay-Kachi had, during twenty years, been in the habit of visiting all the harbours of his native country, possessed considerable knowledge of navigation, and carried on an extensive trade, it was obvious that he must be a person known to the Japanese Government. His polished manners proved that he belonged to the superior class of society. I had been reluctantly the author of his misfortune, and it afforded me no little consolation to find that he did not give way to despondency. On the con-

trary, he cheered himself with the patriotic reflection that he should be able, on his return home, to prove that our government entertained no hostile designs against Japan, and he pledged his existence, that if an embassy were dispatched to Nangasaki, our countrymen would be immediately liberated. Whilst we enjoyed the society of a man so well informed, and so entirely devoted to our interests, I was mortified that the Japanese interpreter of Irkutsk was not with us, and that he could not possibly visit Kamtschatka until the following year. However, our mutual anxiety to become intelligible to each other induced Kachi to learn Russian in the course of the winter, and we were soon able to converse together with facility.

I briefly reported to the Commandant of Okotzk all that had taken place, and requested that he would furnish me with an official letter from the Governor of Irkutsk to the Bunyo of Matsmai, adding, that I was myself ready to proceed to Okotzk to obtain this letter, and that Tachatay-Kachi had undertaken to deliver it personally to the bunyo. We were to land Kachi at Kunashier, whither he proposed to transmit decisive answers and information respecting our comrades. Such was the plan we laid down for our future expedition.

Kachi continued tranquil and in good health until the middle of winter, when the death of two of his attendants greatly affected him. He then became melancholy and peevish; he constantly complained of indisposition, and asserted that he had a complaint in his feet, of which, he told the surgeon, he was certain he would die. Our surgeon was, however, well aware, that his real disorder was *nostalgia*, or an anxiety for home. He feared that he would be detained in Okotzk, whither I intended to take

him, and he finally disclosed this apprehension to me. As the whole success of our plan depended upon his safe return to his country, I immediately determined to convey him direct to Japan, without waiting for an answer from Irkutsk. When I informed him of this resolution, he called for his two remaining seamen, and communicated the joyful intelligence to them. He then requested that I would allow him a few moments privacy with his two attendants. I withdrew into the adjoining room, believing that they wished to pray without any witnesses being present. But Kachi soon came to me in his state dress, with his sabre by his side, and his two attendants behind him, and made a speech strongly expressive of his gratitude. I was surprised and moved, and again vowed to him the fulfilment of my promise.

In April, when we began to prepare for our voyage, I received from the Governor of Irkutsk, as Naval Commander at Kamtschatka, orders to carry into execution our new plan, which had now received the sanction of superior authority; and, in case I should again sail for the Japanese coast, was directed to leave Lieutenant Rudakoff as my substitute in the command of the station. In consequence of these orders, I took on board the 'Diana,' Lieutenant Filatoff, who had commanded the 'Sotik' brig, to supply the place of Lieutenant Rudakoff.

On the 6th of May we cut through the ice, and got the 'Diana' into the roads in the Bay of Avatscha, whence we sailed on the 23rd of May. After a favourable voyage of twenty days, we cast anchor in the Bay of Deceit, at about the same distance from the Japanese fortifications as on the former year. In pursuance of the advice of Tachatay-Kachi, his two sailors were desired to prepare for going on shore. The buildings were, as formerly,

concealed by striped cotton cloth. No guns were fired, but not a living being was to be seen along the whole of the coast. Before their departure the two Japanese sailors came into the cabin to thank me, and to receive the message which their master wished to send to the governor of the island. I took this opportunity of asking Tachatay-Kachi whether he had commissioned his sailors to bring back circumstantial information respecting my countrymen, and whether he pledged himself for their return. He answered in the negative. I was startled at his refusal. "You are surprised," said he, "because you do not know our laws." "I do not, indeed, know them all," I replied; "but since it is so (turning to the Japanese sailors), tell the Governor of Kunashier from me, that if he prevents you from returning, and sends me no information, I will carry your master to Okotzk, where some ships of war will this year be fitted out, and armed men put on board of them, to demand the liberation of the Russian prisoners. I will wait only three days for his answer."

At these words Tachatay-Kachi changed countenance, but said, with much calmness,—“Commander of the Imperial Ship (he always addressed me thus on important occasions), thou counsellest rashly. Thy orders to the Governor of Kunashier seem to contain much, but, according to our laws, they contain little. In vain dost thou threaten to carry me to Okotzk. My men may be detained on shore; but neither two, nor yet two thousand sailors can answer for me. Wherefore, I give thee previous notice, that it will not be in thy power to take me to Okotzk: but of that hereafter. But, tell me, whether it be under these conditions only that my sailors are to be sent on shore?”

“Yes,” said I; “as commander of a ship of war I cannot, under these circumstances, act otherwise.”

“Well,” replied he; “allow me to give to my sailors my last and most urgent instructions as to what they must communicate from me to the Governor of Kunashier, for now I will neither send the promised letter, nor any other written document.”

After this conversation, during which he sat, according to the Japanese custom, with his legs crossed under him, he rose up, and addressed me very earnestly in the following terms: “Thou knowest enough of Japanese to understand all that I may say, in plain and simple words, to my sailors. I would not wish that thou shouldst have any ground to suspect me of hatching base designs.” He then sat down again, when his sailors approached him on their knees, and, hanging down their heads, listened with deep attention to his words. He then reminded them, circumstantially, of the day on which they were carried on board the ‘Diana;’ of the manner in which they had been treated in the ship and in Kamtschatka; of their having inhabited the same house with me, and being carefully provided for. He also mentioned the death of their two countrymen and the Kurile, notwithstanding all the attention bestowed on them by the Russian physician; and, finally, that the ship had hastily returned to Japan on account of his health. All this he directed them faithfully to relate, and concluded with the warmest commendations of me, and earnest expressions of gratitude for the care which I had taken of him on sea and on land. He then sunk into a deep silence and prayed. Hereupon, he delivered to the sailor whom he most esteemed his portrait, to be conveyed to his wife; and his large sabre, which he called his paternal sword, to be presented to his

only son and heir. These solemn ceremonies being ended, he stood up, and with a frank, and, indeed, a very cheerful expression of countenance, asked me for some brandy to treat his sailors at parting. He drank with them, and accompanied them on deck without giving them any further charge. We then landed them, and they proceeded, without interruption, to the fortress.

All that passed between Kachi and the sailors who were separated from him, together with the significant words: "It will not be in thy power to take me to Okotzk," gave me much anxiety. The return of the sailors appeared to me very uncertain. I could retain their sick master as a hostage, but I could not prevent his rash speech from being realised. Whether I should put him ashore was a matter of difficult deliberation, and yet, all circumstances considered, that appeared to me the course likely to prove most beneficial to our imprisoned comrades. In case he should not return, I resolved to proceed immediately to the fortress. I knew enough of Japanese to make myself understood, and I thought if our companions were still living, such a proceeding could not render their fate worse; while, in case they were dead, the whole affair, together with all my anxieties, would be speedily brought to a decision. I communicated my ideas to the senior of my officers, and as he concurred with me in opinion, I told Kachi that he might go on shore as soon as he pleased, and that I would trust to his honour for his return. If he did not come again it would cost me my life.

"I understand," answered he. "Thou darest not return to Okotzk without a written testimonial of the fate of thy countrymen; and, for my part, the slightest

stain on my honour will be at the expense of my life. I thank thee for the confidence placed in me. I had before resolved not to go on shore on the same day with my sailors: that would not become me, according to our customs; but now, since thou hast no objection, I will go ashore early to-morrow."

"I will convey you thither myself," answered I. "Then," he exclaimed, with transport, "we are friends again! I will now tell thee what I meant by sending away my portrait and my paternal sword. But I must first confess, with that candour which I have invariably observed towards thee for the space of three hundred days, that I was much offended by thy message to the Governor of Kunashier. The menace of sending ships of war here during the present year did not concern me, but on hearing thy threat to convey me to Okotzk, I believed that thou didst regard me to be as great an impostor as Gorodsee (Leonsaimo): I could, indeed, scarcely persuade myself that thy lips had uttered such an injury to my honour. That a man of my rank should remain a prisoner in a foreign country, is repugnant to our national honour; yet thou wouldst reduce me to that condition. I willingly accompanied thee to Kamtschatka; and my government was informed of that circumstance. The sailors alone were compelled to accompany thee against their inclination. Thou wert the strongest party; but though my person was in thy power, my life was not at thy disposal. I will now disclose to thee my secret design: I had resolved to commit suicide in case thy purpose remained unchanged; I therefore cut the tuft of hair from the crown of my head, (he showed me the bald part from which the hair had been

removed), and I laid it in the box which contained the portrait. This, according to our Japanese customs, signifies that he who sends his hair in this manner to his friends has died an honourable death; that is to say, has ripped open his bowels. His hair is then buried, with all the ceremonies which would be observed at the interment of his body. Thou callest me friend, and therefore I conceal nothing from thee. So great was my irritation that I would have killed both thee and the senior officer, for the mere satisfaction of afterwards communicating what I had done to thy ship's crew."

What a strange sense of honour according to European ideas! Yet the Japanese consider such conduct most magnanimous. The memory of the hero is preserved with respect, and the honour of the deed descends to his posterity. If, on the contrary, he should fail to act in this manner, his children are banished from the place of their birth.

Next day I got into a boat, to proceed with my reconciled friend to the shore. On approaching it we saw two Japanese coming out of the fortress, and, to our great joy, we recognised them to be Tachatay-Kachi's sailors. We landed, and waited for them beside the stream opposite to which our ship lay. They informed us that the Governor of Kunashier had received them kindly, and had granted my request respecting the supply of water, on condition that I would not allow my men to land on that side of the rivulet nearest the fortress. They added, that three officers of distinction had come, on our account, to Kunashier, and, on mentioning their names, Tachatay-Kachi recognised the two elder ones as his intimate friends. Further than this the sailors knew nothing, except that

the governor had expressed a desire to speak with their master as soon as possible. He noticed some trifles which I had given them, and would not permit them to retain anything. They accordingly brought back every article, even pins and needles, all tied up in a parcel. This I thought indicated no very friendly disposition; but Kachi removed my apprehensions, by informing me that the Japanese laws prohibited his countrymen from receiving presents.

One of the sailors delivered to me a box full of papers, which had been sent by the Governor of Matsmai. I eagerly proceeded to open it, in the expectation of finding letters from our comrades; but Tachatay-Kachi prevented me. "Repress your curiosity," said he, "that box probably contains important papers from our government to yours." He then took it from me, and with his usual demonstrations of respect, having raised the box three times above his head, he said: "All is favourable to us! I say to *us*, for I now feel myself half a Russian. All will be well if you permit me to convey the box back to the governor. To-morrow morning I will not fail to restore it to you. Such are the forms which the customs of our country render necessary."*

I hesitated for a few moments: but suddenly recollecting myself, and without manifesting the slightest distrust, I declared that I would follow his advice. We parted. I tore one of my handkerchiefs in half, and gave him one of the pieces, saying: "I will regard as a friend whoever brings back this half of my handkerchief within two or

* Probably, because it would have been considered, by the Japanese, a want of respect to suffer a common sailor to present the box to the commander of a ship of war.

three days at furthest." He replied, in a firm tone of voice, that death alone should prevent him from fulfilling that duty. Next morning he would return on board the ship; in the meantime he wished me to allow his seamen to accompany him. To this I readily acceded, and after returning on board, I made the ship be kept ready for action during the night.

On the following day our sentinels informed me that they had observed two men quit the garrison, and that one of them carried something white in his hand, which he was constantly waving about. This proved to be Kachi. I immediately sent out the boat, and he soon arrived, accompanied by one of his sailors. To our great joy, he informed us that, according to letters from Matsmai, all our comrades were well, except the pilot, who had been so dangerously ill that he had tasted nothing for the space of ten days, and, moreover, refused to follow the prescriptions of the Japanese physicians: the latest account, however, stated that he had in some measure recovered. Kachi then delivered to me, in the cabin, the official paper which had been in the before-mentioned box, and which was a letter from the Bunyo of Matsmai to the Commandant of Kunashier, written in the Japanese language, with a Russian translation. I gave Kachi a note, acknowledging the receipt of this paper, to be taken back with him to Kunashier; and by his advice I also declared my readiness to sail straight to Chakodade, on condition that two Japanese should be allowed to accompany me, as by their means I might be enabled to commence regular communications. Kachi undertook to explain to the commandant the contents of this letter, and in the evening we put him ashore.

Kachi returned next day, notwithstanding the rainy weather, and he stated that, though the governor considered my proposal extremely reasonable, yet he was not authorized to act on his own opinion in such a case. He had, therefore, sent an express to Matsmai with my last letter, and the one which I had written when I first arrived at Kunashier. "There are Russian interpreters in Matsmai," said Kachi. He assured me that the post would return in twenty days. Taking into consideration all these favourable circumstances, I resolved to wait for the answer of the Bunyo of Matsmai. In the meanwhile, Kachi, on every third day, brought us information of all that took place. In his name his sailors frequently brought us presents of fish, which I distributed in equal portions among the crew. He gave strict orders that they should receive no payment in return for these presents, and always expressed his regret that the unproductive state of the fishery prevented him from being more liberal in his gifts. Indeed we did not, during the whole time, receive more than seventeen fish. Whenever Kachi came on board our ship, the day was always observed as a holiday.

On the 20th of May I was informed that the sentinels had observed the Taisho approaching.* As it was not Kachi's day for visiting us, I conjectured that the weariness he experienced on shore had induced him to come before the stipulated time; I therefore shewed no suspicion when he came on board, but conducted him straight to the cabin.

* Kachi received from the sailors the title of "Taisho," which in the Japanese language signifies Commander. He used the term when he first addressed me, and I returned the compliment. Since then the seamen had constantly called him the Taisho.

He sat down beside me, and, without any remarkable expression of countenance, said: "This unsealed letter, written, as appears, in Russian, has this moment arrived from Matsmai." Lieutenant Filatoff, who was present, cast a look at the superscription, and in ecstasy exclaimed: "It is the handwriting of our Wassili Michailovitsch!" My joy knew no bounds: I snatched the letter from the hand of my friend Kachi, recognised Golownin's writing, and imagined, from the large size of the paper, that it contained an account of the events of his captivity; but when I unfolded the letter I found merely the following lines:

"We are all, both officers and seamen, and the Kurile, Alexei, alive, and reside at Matsmai.

"WASSILI GOLOWNIN.

May 10, 1813.

"FEODOR MOOR.

I took this gratifying letter, by which every doubt of the existence of our countrymen was removed, and read it on deck to the crew. Many of the men, who knew the writing of their captain, perused the letter themselves, and greeted Tachatay-Kachi with cheers. Grog was distributed to the whole ship's company, that they might drink to the health of their officers and friends, for whom they had all been willing, in the preceding year, to sacrifice their lives on the coast.

On this occasion the Taisho informed me of a happy incident which had occurred to him. He had received a letter from his son, at Chakodade, which the governor had conveyed to him in the following singular manner:—According to the Japanese laws, a person immediately returned from a foreign country is allowed no corres-

pondence or intercourse with others: the governor therefore ordered him to be called, as if merely for the purpose of giving him Captain Golownin's letter to take on board the 'Diana.' He said not a word of any letter from Kachi's son, but, while walking up and down the room, he threw it towards him, as if it had been a piece of useless paper, taken out of his pocket with the other letter, and then turned his back, to give time for its being picked up. Kachi perfectly well understood what he meant, and, without any embarrassment, took up the letter and put it in his pocket.

On the 26th he came on board, with the information that the post had arrived at Matsmai, and that the first counsellor of the Bunyo of Matsmai, who was to communicate the answer to my letter, had embarked on board an imperial Japanese ship. The Kurile Alexei and one of the Russian prisoners were to accompany this mission. We all supposed that the Russian must be an officer, but our friend understood that he was one of the sailors.

Judging from the time at which the Japanese ship was said to have sailed from Matsmai, it appeared probable that she would arrive on that or the following day. In fact, in a few hours after, we saw a vessel standing into the bay. Tachatay-Kachi knew her to be an imperial ship by a red mark, in the form of a globe, on her sails. The sides were covered with red stripes, and the gangway was hung round with striped cloth. Three flags, each of variegated colours, waved on the stern. There were planted also, on the same part of the ship, four long pikes, from which floated streamers, each black at the extremity. The number of these pikes indicates the rank of the person on whose account they are fixed up. On the approach of the vessel, baidares, bearing flags, left

the shore, and proceeded out to meet her. Each supplied a particular boat, destined for towing, and they altogether towed the ships towards the fortress. It was now dark, and we could not perceive what preparations were being made on shore for the reception of the deputy of the bunyo; but Kachi promised to return next day with an account of all that occurred.

Faithful to his appointment, we saw him in the morning coming down to the shore, in company with another man. Kachi was instantly recognised by the white handkerchief which he always waved at the end of his sabre; and with respect to the other, we did not remain long in uncertainty, for as they advanced, our worthy little friend occasionally vanished from our view, in consequence of falling behind his more bulky companion. We all exclaimed, "That is one of our Russians."

It is impossible for me to describe the moving scene which followed, when our sailors beheld their comrade returned from captivity. A part of the crew were filling water-casks at the rivulet. When the prisoner saw Russians on the other side of the stream, and probably recognized among them some of his old messmates, he made but one step to its banks, leaving Kachi at least nine paces behind him. Surprise and joy made our sailors forget that they were prohibited from crossing the rivulet. They waded through it, and embraced the welcome visitor in the most affectionate manner. The officer who had the command of the party on shore informed me, that at first he did not know the stranger, he was so altered by the sufferings he had undergone. At last, all the men cried out with one voice, "Simanoff!" for that was his name. He then threw off his hat, knelt down, and

could not utter a word; but the tears rolled fast down his cheeks. This affecting spectacle was renewed when he came on board the ship. I saluted him first, and asked whether our friends in Matsmai were well. "God be praised," he replied, "they are in life, though not all quite well. Mr. Chlebnikoff, in particular, is dangerously ill." I repressed my desire to ask further questions, as I observed the great impatience with which the seamen were waiting to greet him.

I went down to the cabin with Kachi, who informed me that the first officer of the *Bunyo* of Matsmai, named Takahassy-Sampey, who had just arrived, had commissioned him to communicate several circumstances to me. He took out his pocket-book, and read as follows:

"Takahassy-Sampey testifies his respect to the Commandant of Kamtschatka, and informs him, that in consequence of the letter written to Matsmai, the bunyo-sama (chief governor) has sent him to Kunashier, to communicate certain preliminary points regarding the liberation of the Russians. Takahassy-Sampey regrets that the laws of Japan do not permit him to confer personally with the commandant. He feels for the hardships which the officers and crew of the Russian ship have undergone in their repeated voyages to Kunashier: he laments the hostilities which have occurred, and he has, with the permission of the Obunyo of Matsmai, brought one of the Russian prisoners with him. This prisoner will be permitted to go on board the Russian ship every day, to converse with his countrymen, on condition that he always returns at night to the fortress. Takahassy-Sampey requests that the commandant of Kamtschatka

will place full confidence in Tachatay-Kachi, who has been chosen for the negotiation, and who has stated that he can converse freely with the commandant."

The official communication of the preliminary points was in the following terms :

1. There must be conveyed to the Japanese Government, a document signed and sealed by two Russian commanders of districts, certifying that Chwostoff, without the consent or knowledge of the Russian Government, had unlawfully committed depredations on the island of the hairy Kuriles and on Sagaleen.

2. Chwostoff disturbed the tranquillity of the inhabitants of our settlements, and presumed to carry away the millet and other commodities which belonged to private individuals, and, in general, whatever he found, to Okotzk. Among the property thus removed was our ammunition of war, including armour, bows and arrows, muskets, and some cannon. With respect to the former description of articles plundered by Chwostoff, the Japanese Government is of opinion that they must now, in consequence of the lapse of time, be totally unfit for use; the latter, however, are not liable to spoil by keeping, and ought, therefore, to be restored, lest they should hereafter be regarded as trophies taken from the Japanese in war; but though they cannot be decayed or injured by use, they may not, perhaps, be now in Okotzk. It is true they could be collected together from different places, but, owing to the distance of such places, that might be now very difficult. The Japanese Government, therefore, considering the urgency of the present circumstances, will be satisfied if the commandant of Okotzk certifies, that, after the strictest investigation, no more of the plundered property, brought by Chwostoff from the

Kurile Islands and Sagaleen, is to be found in that place.

[It will be remarked by the reader, that the Japanese contrived, with much ingenuity and politeness, to make it be clearly understood, that it was well known to them, through Leonsaimo, what had been done with Chwostoff's booty. Only the strict purport of the passage has been given in the translation, but the whole was very delicately expressed in Japanese.]

3. Respecting the hostilities in the preceding year, to which the commandant of Kamtschatka has alluded in his letter, the Japanese Government, in consideration of the then existing circumstances, recognize such conduct on the part of the commander of a Russian imperial ship as justifiable according to their laws, and have, therefore, passed it over in silence in their official note; but that Tachatay-Kachi, the commander of a Japanese ship, had been carried to Kamtschatka against his inclination, is not consistent with the information contained in the letter received at the time from the Fnamotsh Tachatay-Kachi, who stated that he had, according to his own wish, proceeded to that place, and that only four of his sailors had been taken by force.

4. In order that the negotiations may be brought to a pacific and satisfactory conclusion, Takahassy-Sampey hopes that the Russian ship-of-war will, in the present year, return with the required certificate from Okotzk to Chakodade, where the undersigned, with the Commander Kood-Simoto-Chiogoro, will be in waiting for the Commandant of Kamtschatka, to receive from him the said certificate; and, according to the lawful customs of Japan, personally to advise and jointly co-operate with him in effecting the promised liberation of the Russian

prisoners. In the meantime, he adds herewith the wish that the Russian ship may, after a favourable voyage, speedily return to Chakodade.

Thus ended Kachi's commission; and I, full of impatience to speak with Simanoff, desired him to be called into a separate cabin. Finding himself alone with me, he ripped up the seam of his jacket, and drew out a sheet of fine Japanese paper, folded up in a singular form. The paper was entirely filled with writing. "This," said he, "is a letter to you from Wassili Michailovitsch. I have succeeded in concealing it from the notice of the suspicious Japanese. It contains an account of our sufferings, and some advice respecting the mode in which you are to proceed." I eagerly took the letter, which appeared to come to me by miracle. I several times glanced my eyes over it; but, partly through the dread that it might contain some unwelcome news, and partly through joy at the unexpected manner in which it had reached me, I was so agitated that I could not distinguish one word from another. Within the letter I observed two slips of paper, which contained some lines, very closely written by Mr. Chlebnikoff. I recovered myself, and to my indescribable joy, read that our unhappy friends still cherished some hope of returning to their native country. Captain Golownin's letter was as follows:

"Dearest Friend,

"At length the Japanese seem to be convinced of the truth of our declarations respecting the pacific intentions of Russia and the unauthorised conduct of Chwostoff; but they require a formal attestation thereof from some

Natschalnik* of our government, to which the imperial seal must be affixed. It is to be hoped, that when fully persuaded of the friendly intentions of Russia, they will enter into commercial relations with us; for they seem already aware of the knavery of the Dutch. We have informed them of the letter which fell into the hands of the English, in which the Dutch interpreters of Nangasaky boasted of having produced a decided rupture between Resanoff and the Japanese. Nevertheless, when you have any intercourse with them, be extremely cautious; carry on your conferences only in boats, and always keep at the distance of a gunshot from the shore. Be not offended, however, at the tardiness of their proceedings. We have known them to deliberate for months on an unimportant affair, which in Europe would have been decided in a day or two. In general, I would recommend, as the four principal requisites to be observed in treating with them, prudence, patience, courtesy, and candour. On your discretion depends not merely our liberation, but the interests of our country. May our present misfortune be the means of restoring to Russia those advantages which she has lost through the misconduct of one individual; but the seaman who is the bearer of this will acquaint you more circumstantially with my opinion on these subjects. It is not convenient to load him with papers, and, therefore, I do not myself write to the minister.

“Where the honour of my sovereign and the interest of my country are concerned, I do not set the value of a copeck on my life; do not, therefore, take my safety into consideration. Be it now, or ten, or twenty years hence,

* Chief commander, or governor of a fortress or province.

sooner or later, we must all pay the debt of nature. It is immaterial to me whether I die in battle or by the hand of treachery; whether I perish amidst the waves of the sea, or yield my last breath on a bed of down. Death is always death, though he may present himself under a variety of forms. I beg, my dearest friend, that you will write in my stead to my brother and my friends. Providence may have ordained that I shall see them again, and perhaps not. In the latter case, tell them not to be distressed on account of my fate, and that I wish them health and every happiness. I entreat you in the name of Heaven, to suffer no one to write to me, or to send anything which may occasion me to be tormented by translations and questions; but state your own determination in a few lines. I request that you will give the sailor who is the bearer of this, five hundred roubles from my effects.* Present my sincere regards to our comrades, the officers of the 'Diana,' and remember me to all the seamen. With the deepest gratitude, I return thanks for the many dangers you have encountered for the sake of obtaining our freedom. Adieu, dear friend! and all dear friends, adieu! This letter is probably the last you will ever receive from me. May you enjoy health, content, and happiness!

“ Your most faithful

“ WASSILI GOLOWNIN.

“ April 10th, 1813. In the city of Matsmai,
in Japanese imprisonment.”

Poor Simanoff was so overjoyed at the liberty he had

* Captain Golownin supposed that Simanoff was completely released by the Japanese, and would return with us to Russia.

obtained, and the opportunity of mixing with his ship-mates, that he was like one that had lost his senses. Whenever I sought to be made acquainted with his instructions, he constantly replied: "Why do you question me, Sir? The letter contains all the information you can stand in need of." He frequently wept like a child, and exclaimed: "I alone have, for a moment, been set at liberty; but six of our countrymen are still lingering in confinement. I fear that if I do not return speedily they will be ill-treated by the Japanese."

I relied, however, on Kachi's honesty as on a rock, and regarded all further precaution as superfluous. Golownin's letter served more completely to inform us of what was required by the Japanese Government, and this was, at all events, highly important.

Having satisfied our curiosity concerning the situation of our comrades, by a thousand various questions, we again put our friends Kachi and Simanoff ashore. I requested that Kachi would inform Takahassey-Sampey that, should the wind prove favourable, I intended to set sail for Okotzk on the following day, and that I would, without fail, return to Chakodade in the present year, provided with all the documents he required: I, moreover, begged that he would offer him our sincere thanks for the friendly disposition he had manifested, and particularly for permitting us to have an interview with our countryman.

Finally, on the 29th of July, we took farewell of Tachatay-Kachi. On this occasion, he brought three hundred fish on board for the sailors. I was somewhat mortified at his having constantly refused to accept of any present, except a little sugar, tea, and French brandy:

he even proposed that his clothes, and other articles, which he had on board the 'Diana,' and which were apparently of considerable value, should remain in my custody, observing: "That we should soon meet again in Chakodade. There," said he, "I can, without any obstruction, receive the tokens of your friendship, but here it would be extremely troublesome to me to be made accountable, according to our laws, for every trifle." "At least," said I, "take back your own property; you know the dangers to which a sea life is every moment exposed." "How!" exclaimed he, "can you apprehend danger after the evident protection of Heaven which you have experienced? Zeesei, Zeesei, Taisho! (that is to say, timid, timid commander!) That you have sufficient time before you for accomplishing a safe voyage, a wise man like you, who knows how to observe the heavens (alluding to astronomical observations), cannot deny. I do not like your look; I see that you are concerned about my trifles, though it was my intention to request permission to distribute them among your seamen; but I perceive your uneasiness of mind, which probably proceeds from your doubt of the business being finally adjusted this year. I must, consequently, conclude that your sailors, several of whom I know still distrust me, would imagine that I had given them presents under the conviction that I should never see them more. I, therefore, beg that the trifles may remain in your keeping until you return to Chakodade. Ten Taisho!" (Ten signifies, place confidence in God.)

The intelligent and grateful Tachatay-Kachi was, indeed, not wrong in his conjecture. But the reader may himself judge how great was our cause for uneasiness.

As soon as he departed, we weighed anchor, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, with the intention of putting to sea: but the wind soon became fair, and after a pleasant voyage of fifteen days, we again cast anchor in Okotzk harbour.

I immediately addressed a report to the Commandant of Okotzk, containing an account of all that had taken place; and he, in return, furnished me with the document required by the Japanese Government, together with a letter of friendly explanation from the Governor of Irkutsk to the Bunyo of Matsmai, which contained everything necessary to be stated.

A Japanese, named Kisseleff, who had been sent from Irkutsk to serve as our interpreter, now came on board the 'Diana.' We remained in Okotzk Roads eighteen days. On the 11th of August we were ready to sail, for the third time, to the coasts of Japan, with a full reliance on the assistance of Heaven for the attainment of our wished-for object.

Owing to adverse southerly winds, which prevailed along the Peninsula of Sagaleen, twenty days elapsed before we reached the coast of Matsmai. On the 10th of September we entered Volcano Bay, in which is situated the safe harbour of Edomo, whither I had resolved to repair. As we approached the promontory we could plainly discern the buildings, and even the inhabitants of the place; but during the night the wind became more adverse than before, and a storm at length arose, which, on the following morning, drove us from the coast. It was at the period of the equinox, when, in this part of the world, violent storms prevail, even more frequently than elsewhere; but on the 12th, to our great joy, the storm

abated, and was succeeded by mild and favourable breezes.

We entered Volcano Bay on the 22nd, and at nine in the morning, three baidares were observed steering towards our vessel. I dispatched Lieutenant Filatoff to meet them, and he soon conducted them alongside. There were eighteen Japanese on board these baidares, who, at our invitation, boldly ascended the deck of the 'Diana.' We enquired where we could find a harbour, and they informed us that there was one called Sangaro, about two wersts distant, in a southerly direction, near the promontory, which had about twenty fathoms depth of water. We soon found that they had come on board merely from curiosity, to see the foreign ship. As we wished to put into Edomo, which had been visited by Captain Broughton in 1796, we requested them to conduct us to that port, but they declined to do so, probably because they dared not without permission, and they left us. From Captain Broughton's description we were, however, pretty certain of being able to enter the harbour without their assistance, and we accordingly stood into it with an easterly wind. At noon we discovered a tolerably large town, and on the heights were batteries, overhung with cloth. A baidare was sent out to meet us, on board of which were thirteen hairy Kuriles, whom the Japanese call Ainos. These Kuriles were accompanied by a native of Japan, named Leso, one of those who had been in Kamtschatka with Tachatay-Kachi, and whom we had put ashore on our return to Kunashier. He informed me, that in consequence of the agreement concluded at Kunashier, he had been sent by the Bunyo of Matsmai, as a pilot, to conduct us to the harbour of Chakodade. He

enquired whether we wanted anything, as the authorities of that place had been directed to furnish us with whatever we might require. We stood in need of nothing, except fresh water, and I availed myself of the opportunity to send on shore fifty empty casks; we then cast anchor in eleven fathoms, with a muddy bottom.

On the following day the same baidare, manned by the same Kuriles, brought back our casks filled with fresh water from Edomo, and likewise some fresh fish and radishes, as presents from the governor. We returned him our thanks, and again sent twenty empty casks, which were brought back in the evening. We took advantage of the fine weather to repair our rigging, which had been considerably damaged during the storm, and everything was soon restored to a state of good order. For several days the Japanese continued to fill our casks, and to send presents of fresh fish and vegetables in such abundance as enabled us to deal out plentiful supplies to the crew; but in spite of all our persuasions, they obstinately refused to accept of any return.

On the morning of the 26th, the baidare brought me a letter from Captain Golownin, written in Chakodade. He informed me, that when the 'Diana' should come within sight of the harbour, a white flag would be displayed on the hill, and that Tachatay-Kachi would be sent out to us: as, however, the latter could not depart without an order from the Bunyo of Matsmai, he advised us, in the meantime, to trust to the sailor Leso, who was a skilful pilot. This letter was a reply to one which I had addressed to the Japanese authorities on our first arrival at Edomo, and in which I expressed my doubts of the sincerity of the Japanese, since they sent a common sailor to meet us,

instead of dispatching Tachatay-Kachi, or some individual of rank. Now, however, I was very willing to accept of Leso as a pilot.

Having, without any trouble, got all our empty casks filled with fresh water, and every other necessary supplied, we set sail at ten o'clock. At eight on the following evening we discovered, on various parts of the coast of Matsmai, several fires, one of which was particularly large. We were soon met by a baidare, bearing a white flag and two lanterns: on board of this baidare was our faithful friend, Tachatay-Kachi. This proved a joyful meeting to both parties, for there was now every probability of our mutual wishes being fulfilled. He came by order of the Japanese Government, to conduct us into the harbour of Chakodade. He was himself accompanied by a distinguished officer of the port. By their mutual direction we cast anchor, at half-past eight in the evening, in a place called by the Japanese Yamasee-Tomuree: it is the common anchoring-place for vessels when easterly winds prevent them from entering the harbour. Every necessary arrangement having been made, we eagerly sat down to converse with Kachi, with whom we communicated with more facility than before, as we had the assistance of the interpreter Kisseleff.

Our first question, of course, related to our countrymen. Kachi informed us that they were in Chakodade, and that the Bunyo of Matsmai, Chattori-Bingono-Kami, had already arrived in person, for the purpose of concluding the negotiation, and liberating the prisoners. After we had conversed together for a considerable time, he took his leave, promising that he would return next day to conduct the ship into the harbour. During the night we

observed fires burning on various parts of the coast, and a watch-boat rowed up to us, and laid near the vessel as long as we remained there.

Kachi fulfilled his promise of returning early on the following morning. We sailed into the Bay of Chakodade, and, after a few hours, we cast anchor in a place which he pointed out, and which was scarcely the distance of a gun-shot from the city. He then acquainted me with the laws concerning European vessels. He stated that we could not be permitted to sail about the harbour in boats; that, as long as we remained there, a watch-boat would, day and night, be stationed near the vessel; that everything we stood in need of would be conveyed to us by government vessels; and that all persons were strictly prohibited from visiting us.

In the evening he went on shore for the purpose of drawing up a circumstantial report of his proceedings.

The city of Chakodade, the second in magnitude on the island, is situated on its southern coast, on the declivity of a high circular hill, which rises above the peninsula there formed: it is washed on the south by the Bay of Sangar, on the north and west by the Bay of Chakodade, which is very convenient for receiving a large fleet. The peninsula forms its junction on the east by a narrow strip of land, so that there is at once a view of both the open sea and the low grounds.

On the northern side of the bay a spacious valley extends over a circuit of fifteen or twenty miles, bounded on three of its sides by hills. In the centre of this valley lies the village of Onno, the inhabitants of which are chiefly occupied in agriculture. The other villages, which are chiefly situated on the coast, are, for the most part,

inhabited by fishermen. We learned these particulars from our friends on their return, for they had been conducted about the city, and in their walks they observed that this valley was better cultivated than any other district they had seen. The hill, at the foot of which the city is built, serves as an excellent landmark for ships entering the bay, as it is easily recognised at a distance by its circular form, and is detached from every other elevated object. On the western side this hill is formed of huge masses of rock, in one of which there is a cavity perceptible from the sea. The depth of water, close in land, is very considerable on the southern and western sides of the peninsula: but as there are neither sand-banks nor rocks to be apprehended, the coast may be approached without danger. There are, however, numerous sand-banks on the northern side, and consequently only small vessels can get up to the town. From the projecting cape opposite the town, a sand-bank of unequal depth extends one-third of the breadth of the bay. On the northern and eastern sides of the bay the depth of water gradually diminishes towards the shore.

As we approached the town, we observed that cloth was hung out only at a few places on the hill, or near it, and not over the whole buildings, as at Kunashier. With the assistance of our telescopes, we observed six of these screens of cloth, probably destined to conceal fortifications, which our countrymen had an opportunity of seeing on their way from Matsmai to Chakodade. There were, besides, five new fortifications erected along the coast, and provided with garrisons of suitable strength: they were at short distances from each other, and about from two to three hundred fathoms from the shore.

We no sooner entered the roads than we were surrounded by a number of boats of all descriptions and

sizes, filled with the curious of both sexes. A European ship, must, indeed, have been to them an object of uncommon interest ; for, as far as I could ascertain, they had seen none since they were visited twenty-two years before by Laxman and Lowzoff : the latter commanded the Okotzk transport ship 'Catharina.' Many of the inhabitants, therefore, had never beheld a European vessel of any kind, and still less a ship of war ; they accordingly thronged around us in vast numbers ; and their curiosity frequently gave rise to disputes among themselves. The Doseenee (Japanese soldiers), who were stationed in the watch-boats, continually called to them to keep at a farther distance ; but so great was the confusion, that though the people generally show great respect to the soldiers, their orders were, on this occasion, disregarded. The military were, therefore, under the necessity of using the iron batons, which they wear fastened to their girdles by long silken strings. They spared neither rank nor sex : old persons alone experienced their indulgence, and we had various opportunities of observing that the Japanese, in all situations, pay particular respect to old age. In this case blows were freely dealt out to the young of every description who ventured to disobey the commands of the soldiers, and we were at length delivered from a multitude of visitors, who would have subjected us to no small degree of inconvenience. We should have been unable to move had they all been permitted to come on board the vessel ; and to keep them out by force was a measure which we could not have adopted without reluctance, considering the favourable turn which our intercourse with the Japanese had taken. They were at last, however, compelled to withdraw to a certain distance, indicated by the guards, and no boat dared to pass the boundary. In this way they covered a considerable por-

tion of the bay, and when those who were most a-head had gratified their curiosity, their places were immediately occupied by the next in succession. They did not all depart until twilight ; after that time, only those individuals who were sent by the government were allowed to approach our ship, and even they were subject to the examination of the watch-boat.

Next morning, we observed a boat with white flags* standing towards us from the town. Tachatay-Kachi, with the sailor who had been our pilot, came on board in this boat, and brought presents of fish, vegetables, and water-melons. The sailor carried a bundle, which I perceived contained clothes. Kachi begged that I would permit him to retire to his old cabin to dress, informing me that the Bunyo of Matsmai, who was highly satisfied with his services in Kunashier, had appointed him negotiator in this important affair, on which occasion he had, according to the customs of Japan, been invested with certain privileges. In fulfilment of this duty, it was necessary that, during his communications with me, he should appear in the robes appropriate to his official situation. He accordingly withdrew to attire himself, and in the meanwhile I put on my state uniform, and hung my sword by my side. After a polite salutation, Kachi intimated, through our interpreter, Kisseleff, that he did not now speak in the name of the Bunyo, but in the names of two chief officers of state, who requested that I would deliver the official paper which I had engaged to bring from Okotzk. I replied that I was prepared to present it to the state officers themselves,

* I ought to have mentioned that the white flag was constantly displayed along with the flag of war.

but that no time might be lost, I would deliver it to Kachi. I assembled my officers in full uniform in the cabin, to witness this proceeding, and with all due solemnity I presented to Kachi the official document from the Commandant of Okotzk, which was wrapped up in blue cloth. I, at the same time, stated that I had in my possession another important official letter, from the Governor of Irkutsk to the Bunyo of Matsmai, but that letter I could deliver only in my own person, either to the Bunyo, or to some distinguished individual who might be sent to receive it. Tachatay-Kachi urgently solicited that I would give him the letter also, as it would procure him high honour in Japan when it should be known that he was thought worthy of delivering into the hands of the Obunyo an official document from a Russian Governor. But this I resolutely declined, observing that, though I loved him as a friend, yet I could not consent to anything which might be thought derogatory to the dignity of the Governor of Irkutsk, nor betray the trust which had been reposed in me.

I now proposed that my interview with the Japanese authorities should take place on shore, but close to the sea, as I found it was impracticable to communicate with them in boats. According to Kachi's account, the people in the streets fell upon their knees whenever the high officers of state appeared in their *norimons* (sedan chairs); how then could we hope that they would consent to lay aside all their ceremonies, and hold a conference in boats with the commander of a foreign ship? Besides, I had credentials from the Governor of Irkutsk. I was invested with full powers in conformity with the pleasure of my sovereign, and consequently I appeared in the cha-

racter of an ambassador. If, therefore, the Japanese dared to act treacherously, they might be certain that my treatment would not be looked upon with indifference, but would be considered as a national concern. I had also the less reason to hesitate in fulfilling my mission in the usual manner, as I knew that the dignity of an ambassador was much respected in Japan.

Tachatay-Kachi begged that I would think no more about his indiscreet request, and then went ashore. He returned next day, dressed himself as before, and in the name of the two officers of state, inquired whether the crew of the 'Diana' stood in need of anything, or whether the ship required repairs. I returned thanks, and observed that we had a good supply of everything, except fresh water, fish, and vegetables (all of which abounded in Chakodade), and that the ship was in a state of perfect repair.

Kachi then informed me that he had delivered the official document from the Commandant of Okotzk, with all due ceremony; that its contents were deemed satisfactory, and that my proposal to hold an interview with the commandant, for the purpose of presenting the letter from the Governor of Irkutsk, had been assented to. He added that the object of his present visit was to arrange the ceremonies which it would be necessary to observe during this conference; and, in the first place, to settle respecting the guard of honour. I observed that I would bring on shore with me ten men armed with muskets; that two petty officers should precede me, carrying the war flag and the white flag of truce; and that I should be accompanied by two commissioned officers and the interpreter. I besides consented to be rowed ashore in the governor's barge. After a mutual salutation, which on my side was

to be made in the European manner, by a bow, an arm-chair was to be placed for me, and behind it two ordinary chairs for my officers. During the introductory address, whether proceeding from the Japanese or from myself, I was, as a mark of respect, to stand, and then immediately to take my seat. With the exception of the muskets, Kachi observed, that all these regulations would be readily agreed to; "But," said he, "we know of no instance in which a foreign ambassador, whatever the object of his mission to Japan, has been suffered to present himself at a ceremonial conference with a retinue bearing fire-arms. Be satisfied with the same mark of respect which has been shown to other European ambassadors in Nangasaky; namely, that the men composing your suite shall be permitted to wear their swords, but let them leave their muskets behind them. To allow your ship to sail into our innermost harbour, armed and provided with powder, and thus to leave you the means of injuring us if you pleased, though the first is by no means a slight departure from our laws."

Being well convinced that favours had been conceded to us which no other European ship had ever enjoyed, I was prepared to yield the point with respect to the muskets: and I merely observed to Kachi that a guard without muskets was not a guard of war, and was consequently beneath my rank as commander of a Russian imperial ship. "With us," said I, "only men in the military and naval service are permitted to carry muskets, in the same manner as such persons wear two sabres in Japan; our muskets therefore correspond exactly with your two sabres." But, I added, that if this proposition were objected to, he need not insist upon it, and that I would go on shore upon the other conditions being agreed to.

Having made memoranda of all that passed between us, he took his leave. On the following day he came with a joyful countenance, to inform me that everything was settled, even the point respecting the muskets. "At first," said he, "our officers were all silent; but after they had considered the matter for some time, I repeated all your arguments, one after the other; and I am now directed to inform you that the two official persons will expect you to-morrow, at the place appointed on the shore, to receive from your hands the letter from the Governor of Irkutzk. At twelve o'clock the governor's state barge will be ready to receive you. One thing only remains to be arranged: you can on no account whatever appear in boots in the audience-chamber, which has been covered with fine carpets, on which the Japanese high officers will sit down cross-legged. To appear there in boots would be quite repugnant to our customs, and would be a most unwarrantable indecorum. You must consequently leave your boots in the anti-chamber, and enter only in your stockings."

I was somewhat embarrassed by this singular proposal, and endeavoured to point out that according to European notions nothing could be more absurd than for a man to present himself in full uniform, with a sword by his side, and without either boots or shoes. I observed to Kachi that I was well aware it was customary with the Japanese to take off their shoes even before they enter a common apartment; "but," said I, "you, who are an intelligent man, cannot but know how widely your customs differ from those of European nations. Your countrymen, for instance, instead of trousers, wear a loose garment resembling our dressing-gowns. You never enter a strange house with your shoes on; whereas, to go bare-footed would, with us, be only pardonable in persons of the

very lowest class. How then can you expect that I should comply with such a custom?"

Tachatay-Kachi could make no reply; he had never for a moment bestowed a thought on this important point of etiquette. I reflected for a few moments, and then declared that I would endeavour to conform with all that was required, so that no obstacle might stand in the way of the proposed conference. "In Russia," continued I, "it is customary, when we wish to show particular respect to any persons of distinction, to exchange our boots for shoes in the anti-chamber." "That is sufficient," exclaimed Kachi, joyfully: "no violation of the rules of politeness need to be made by either party. Your shoes may easily be compared to our Japanese half-stockings; and I will say that you agree to take off your boots, and to appear in the audience-chamber in leather stockings." He immediately went ashore, and to my astonishment returned in the evening, to inform me that the official persons were highly satisfied with my arrangement respecting the leather stockings. He added that if, however, I absolutely insisted on appearing in boots I might do so; though in that case, the government officers, instead of receiving me on their knees, must sit on chairs, after the European manner; which, in Japan, is regarded as a great mark of disrespect and even rudeness.

He then produced a drawing of the building, in which it was proposed the interview should take place. In front of the edifice, a number of soldiers were sketched, sitting cross-legged. In the first apartment were the officers of inferior rank. Here I was to draw off my boots, and then pass by a row of officers, likewise sitting cross-legged. At the upper end of the hall of audience, the places for the two chief official persons were marked out; on the left was the interpreter, on the right an acade-

mician, who had arrived for the express purpose of making observations on the Russian ship of war, and collecting particulars respecting European science. My place was marked out in the centre of the hall, facing the high authorities, and behind me were chairs for my two officers. The guards, with muskets and flags, were sketched in front of the open doors of the building.

Everything being thus arranged, Kachi took his leave, promising, if the weather should prove favourable, to return at twelve o'clock next day to escort me in the state barge.

I now turned my thoughts to our interpreter, Kisseleff, whom it was necessary I should take ashore along with me. I was well aware of the severity of the laws of Japan towards subjects who have become Christians, and lived in foreign countries. Kisseleff, in the letter which he translated, had described himself to be a native of Russia, though the son of a Japanese woman; yet it appeared probable that his perfect knowledge of the Japanese language would immediately betray him, and in that case, the consequences might have been fatal. I left it to his own free choice, whether or not he would incur the danger, and he replied: "What have I to fear? If they detain you, they detain us all. They will not seize me alone. I am no Japanese, and intreat that you will take me with you, in order that I may have an opportunity of fulfilling my duty. The conference will be of the highest importance; but I can be of no service to you by remaining on board the ship." I gladly consented to take him with me; and I gave orders that the two officers who, of their own accord, had offered to accompany me, should hold themselves in readiness.

Next day, at twelve o'clock, the state barge was sent out

with a number of flags waving on board. Tachatay-Kachi appeared in full costume, and informed me that we should depart whenever the flag was displayed from the building in which the conference was to take place. The flag was unfurled precisely at twelve o'clock, and we went on board the barge. It was rowed by sixteen chosen Japanese, most of whom, as Kachi informed me, were eminent and wealthy merchants, who had seized that opportunity of gratifying their curiosity. Their manner of rowing differs from that practised in Europe: they do not throw the blade of the oar forward, but keep merely turning it about; and yet the boat is moved with as much velocity as would be produced by our method. We had fixed our war flag along with those of the Japanese in the stern; at the prow, however, we hoisted the white flag of truce, and in this manner we rowed towards the town, accompanied by several hundred boats filled with spectators. The building in which the conference was to take place was situated close to the shore, near a stone landing place. In the front of the building we observed a number of Japanese soldiers sitting according to custom on the ground. Tachatay-Kachi was the first who stepped out of the barge: he proceeded immediately to inform the high officers of our arrival, and soon returned to intimate that everything was prepared for our reception. To have enquired why no Japanese officer had been dispatched to meet me, seemed then an untimely and useless question; I therefore ordered the petty officer, who was the bearer of the white flag, to land next to the ten seamen under arms, and the other petty officer to follow with the war flag. I then stepped out of the barge, followed by two commissioned officers. In the entrance hall my shoes were put

on by the Japanese attendants, one of whom carried a chair behind me. I then entered the audience-chamber, which was filled with officers of various ranks, all wearing their military dresses and two sabres. I was somewhat surprised at the dead silence which prevailed throughout the apartment. On observing the two chief officers, who were sitting near each other crossed legged, I advanced towards them and bowed. They returned my salutation by an inclination of the head. I then bowed to the right and left, and took my seat in the chair which had been placed for me. Uninterrupted silence prevailed for the space of some minutes. I was the first to break it, by observing, through the interpreter, Kisseleff, that I considered myself in the presence of friends. Instead of making any reply, the two chief officers smiled; but the elder of the two, who had come from Kunashier, opened the conference by turning to an individual who sat on his left, and who, when addressed, inclined his head towards the ground; but the superior officer spoke in so low a tone of voice, that Kisseleff could not collect a word he said. The person who had listened in the manner I have described having resumed his former attitude, after a respectful salutation, to my great astonishment addressed me in tolerably good Russian. He was, as I afterwards learned, the interpreter, Murakami-Teske, who had been taught Russian by Captain Golownin. "The Russians," said he, "some time ago occasioned great disturbances on the coasts of Japan, but all is now happily settled. The certificate of the Governor of Okotzk is very, very satisfactory." I answered through himself as interpreter, that by the happy settlement of which he spoke the liberation of our prisoners was doubtless to be expected,

and that that joyful event would repay all the hardships we had endured.

After some interchange of compliments, I proceeded to call the attention of the two high official personages to the letter of the Governor of Irkutzk, which Savelieff handed to me in a box covered with a purple cloth. I took it out, read the address aloud, and returned it. Savelieff having replaced the letter, handed the box to the interpreter, who elevated it above his head, and then placed it in the hands of the junior of the two state officers. The latter raised it to the height of his breast, and delivered it to the senior officer, who stated that he would immediately present it to the bunyo, and that, in consideration of the importance of the document, two days would be necessary for preparing the answer. The presents which were handed by Savelieff to the Japanese interpreter were laid before the officers. They both requested that I would accept of some refreshments, which were prepared in the house: they then stood up, bowed to me, and withdrew with the presents. The interpreter Murakami-Teske having welcomed us in a friendly manner, addressed me by my Russian name, and said: "God be thanked! that I can now congratulate you on a happy settlement. Captain Golownin and the other Russians will soon be sent on board to you: our laws do not permit that you should yet meet—but they are all well." The academician also congratulated us and our worthy friend Tachatay-Kachi, who, during the ceremony, had stood at the extremity of the chamber, now approached. We were treated with tea and sweetmeats served on lackered trays. I was distinguished by having an officer of subaltern rank placed by my side, who received whatever was destined

for me, and presented it. After having been on shore two hours, we took leave, and returned on board with Kachi. I had ordered Lieutenant Filatoff to decorate the ship with flags as soon as he saw us land, but not to fire, as I knew that the Japanese would not be pleased with that compliment; for they say it is very absurd in Europeans to make the firing of cannon, which are engines of destruction, a mark of honour and respect. There are, however, instances of the practice among themselves; for the Prince of Sindaisk is saluted with rounds of artillery on leaving or entering his principality.

The day was fine, and the decoration of the ship with flags afforded a pleasing spectacle to the curious of both sexes, who crowded out in boats to view it. Thus ended, to the satisfaction of both parties, our conference with the Japanese authorities, during which the Russian imperial flag, which then waved, in consequence of national negotiations, for the first time, on the territory of this haughty people, received due honours. The escort which accompanied me had sworn not to allow the sacred imperial standard to pass from their hands while one of them remained alive.

We must again gratefully acknowledge that our friend Tachatay-Kachi was on this occasion of great use to us. Two days passed away without any communication from the high authorities; but Kachi visited us twice a-day, accompanied by some persons of his acquaintance, whom the government gave him permission to bring on board. These visits were extremely agreeable to us, as they afforded us opportunities of testifying to Kachi how much we considered ourselves obliged to him. We offered

his friends presents, but they would accept only of some trifles, and not even of them without the permission of Kachi.

On the third day, in the morning, Kachi came on board, his countenance radiant with pleasure, to inform me that I might have a conference with Captain Golownin and the other Russian prisoners. What a joyful message ! Though we had been permitted to write to Captain Golownin, yet we received only short notes in return, or acknowledgments of the receipt of our letters. This plainly proved that the Japanese inspected what he wrote ; and thus obliged him to observe great caution in his correspondence. Towards evening Tachatay - Kachi brought us an unquestionable proof of his having seen our friends ; namely, a letter, in which Golownin expressed satisfaction at being introduced to his acquaintance. On the following day, Kachi overjoyed me by the intimation that I might go on shore that day, and that I should meet my friend Golownin and two of his sailors in the same edifice in which the solemn conference with the Japanese authorities had been held. The interpreter, Murakami-Teske, the academician, and some officers of inferior rank, were to be present at this meeting. The governor's barge was to convey me on shore, and I was at liberty to take with me the same number of armed men as on the first occasion. With regard to the last suggestion, I answered : " As this is to be merely a private interview, I will leave the two flags in the boat, and only take on shore with me the ship's clerk, and five unarmed sailors, in order that they may enjoy the pleasure of seeing two of their old shipmates." Next morning, at ten o'clock, Kachi came for me, and I went

on shore with him and the men I had promised to take, in the governor's barge.

As we approached the shore, I saw Golownin at the door of the edifice, in a rich yellow dress, with his sword by his side. I instantly forgot all attention to ceremony, did not allow Tachatay-Kachi to precede me, but leaped first on shore myself. Had I not served so long with Golownin, and lived in friendly intercourse with him, I certainly should not have recognized him in his habiliments; but I knew him among a crowd of Japanese; and the joy of our first greeting may be imagined, but cannot be described. He had almost ceased to hope to see his country again, and I had scarcely ventured to hope that it would fall to my lot to deliver him. The delicacy of the Japanese made them desirous not to disturb the transport of our feelings; they accordingly drew back, and chatted to each other.

At first, we could only express ourselves in unconnected questions and answers; but when we became somewhat tranquil, we spoke on the main object of our meeting, for which sufficient time was allowed us. Golownin, in a few words, related what he had suffered; and, in return, required from me intelligence of his country, his friends, and his relatives. He then showed me that I had formed an erroneous opinion on a very important point. The bad state of the ship had induced me to cherish the idea of wintering in Chakodade, as it appeared hazardous to return at that late period of the year to Kamtschatka. Golownin, however, observed that, according to the Japanese laws, we should be considered prisoners, and that it was therefore necessary to hasten our departure; and by his advice I wrote to that effect to the Japanese autho-

rities. We took leave of each other, full of the hope of speedily meeting again.

In the evening, I had the pleasure of a visit from Kachi. He had been present at my interview with Golownin; but in the midst of it he came up to me, and said: "I am not well—excuse me," and went away. The sailors who accompanied me, and who never could be induced to place any faith in the Japanese, were alarmed at Kachi's withdrawing, particularly as in passing he bade them, as they thought, in a very serious manner, farewell: they firmly believed that the Japanese were going to arrest them.

On this occasion, Kachi brought a youth on board with him, and intimated that he had something wonderful to tell me. On returning home yesterday, he said, he very unexpectedly found—he would leave me to guess whom—his son! "Look at him," said Kachi; "is he not like me? Through him I have obtained the most joyful tidings of my wife. She has been on a pilgrimage, and has returned in good health. She had scarcely entered her apartment, scarcely laid aside her travelling dress, when she received, by post, the letter I wrote to her on our arrival at Kunashier." I expressed a sincere wish for the future happiness of my friend and his affectionate wife. These events confirmed him still more in his belief of predestination, to which he was much devoted. I paid particular attention to his son; ordered that he should be shown every part of the ship, and introduced him to my officers, who, with the assistance of Kisseleff, carried on a friendly conversation with him. Kachi, in the meantime, gave me an account of his friend, the hermit.

“Taisho!” said he, “men are to be found in Japan without the help of a lantern.* How do you think I can make a return to my friend?† He despises riches; I must do something worthy of his greatness of soul. You know I have a daughter, but owing to her misconduct, I have forbidden her to bear my name. To me she has long since been numbered with the dead. You have taken a great interest in her fate: I have always been deeply moved whenever you entreated that I would become reconciled to her: perhaps you thought your friendship slighted because I remained inexorable; but you knew not the customs of our country, nor were you aware that you required a sacrifice of my honour.‡

“Now,” continued he, “since I possess so invaluable a treasure in my friend, who has withdrawn himself from the world, I will make a sacrifice as rare as his friendship—a sacrifice which, according to our ideas of honour, is the severest wound that the heart of a father can endure. I have resolved to call my daughter into life,

* He alluded to the story of Diogenes, which I had related to him in Kamtschatka, and with which he was highly pleased. In general, he was deeply interested by examples of virtue and magnanimity, such as the conduct of Dolgoruki, when he tore the ukase of Peter the Great. Whenever he listened to that anecdote, he would place his hand on his head, in token of veneration, and exclaim, with emotion, “Okee, okee!” (Great, great!) Then pressing his hand to his heart, he would say, “Kusuri,” (medicine); a term by which he was accustomed to designate any dish that particularly pleased him, and of anything which he wished to express his admiration.

† He here alluded to a rich man who had been his bosom friend, and who was so grieved on learning that we had taken Kachi prisoner, that he divided his property among the poor, and took up his abode in the mountains, as a hermit.

‡ I had, indeed, frequently so moved him that he shed tears; but his resolution remained unaltered.

and to forgive her. I need only communicate this determination to my friend, and he will understand me."

He then requested I would permit him to distribute the property he had on board the ship among the seamen. This he did in person, giving those articles which were of the highest value to such of the crew as he was best acquainted with, particularly our cook, whom he used to call his friend; for, though he honoured my dishes of moral teaching with the title of *kusuri*, yet he was not insensible that he needed food for the body as well as the mind, and that the former was also *kusuri* to him. The articles he gave away consisted of silk and cotton dresses, large wadded quilts and dresses; and they were so numerous, that every man on board received a present of some kind or other. He then requested that the sailors might be allowed to make merry that evening. "Taisho," said he, "sailors are all alike, whether Russian or Japanese; they are all fond of a glass, and there is no danger in the harbour of Chakodade." Though I had, on that joyful day, already ordered a double allowance of grog to be served out to the crew, yet I could not decline complying with the request of the kind-hearted Kachi. He immediately sent his sailors on shore to procure *sagi*; and, according to the Japanese custom, ordered them to bring pipes and a paper of tobacco for each of our seamen. I conducted him to the cabin, where I had previously laid out the presents which had been sent with the embassy. They consisted of painted porcelain, marble slabs, and crystal vessels of various descriptions. "Now," said I, "fulfil the promise which you made in Kunashier. Take whatever you like best; or, since your officers despise our presents, take them all for yourself." "To what purpose should I accept of the costly things,"

he said, with all the sincerity of friendship, "since, according to our laws, they must all be taken from me, and the government will merely indemnify me with money?"

With considerable difficulty, I at length prevailed on him to accept a few trifles. He chose what pleased him best, namely, a pair of silver spoons, two knives, and other articles for the table; but he was particularly delighted on my presenting him with a tea-service. "I can now," said he, "entertain my friends after the Russian fashion in remembrance of the hospitality I have experienced among you." In general, he expressed himself pleased with our mode of living, and though he could not always sit at table with us, because the Japanese do not eat butchers' meat, yet he had his meals served up at the same time, and always took tea with us. He generally drank his tea without sugar, but he ate large quantities of the latter separately.

We remained together until midnight. When about to withdraw, he expressed his regret that the Japanese laws did not allow him to invite and entertain us at his own house; since we might also wish to possess some *chasees* and *sagasukees*,* as memorials of Japanese hospitality.

On the following day we were much concerned to hear that Tachatay-Kachi had caught a severe cold, in consequence of his frequent communications with the 'Diana' having obliged him to be so much on the water. We were therefore visited by the young interpreter, who was sent by the high officers to inform us, that on the following morning Golownin and the rest of the prisoners would be sent on board. In confirmation of this message, he

* Lackered cups and small pieces of wood; the Japanese use the latter instead of knives and forks.

brought a letter from Golownin, by which it appeared that they had all been carried before the bunyo, who, in the presence of a numerous assembly, had formally announced their liberation. The high officers requested that I would next morning go once more on shore, to hold a conference with them, to take charge of my liberated countrymen, and to receive the papers which had been prepared for me.

As a proof that I implicitly relied on the honour of the Japanese Government, I informed our welcome messenger that I would go ashore without guards, and merely in a boat bearing white flags, to convince the people that the liberation of our countrymen had been effected without any kind of force whatever. The interpreter, with some other visitors, who had been attracted by curiosity, remained with us until night, and we now, for the first time, succeeded in persuading our guests to receive a few tokens of friendship. Our presents, on this occasion, consisted of pieces of Spanish leather, which the Japanese prized beyond anything else we could have offered them.

The 7th of October was the happy day on which all our difficulties were to be amply requited. Tachatay-Kachi arrived very early, in the governor's barge. Owing to indisposition, he appeared in his ordinary dress. On my expressing some apprehensions on account of his health, he replied, "Never fear! joy has already made me better; and when I see you and Golownin rowing towards the ship, I shall be quite well again."

He assured us that the bunyo was much pleased with the frank confidence which I had placed in the honour of the Japanese. At twelve o'clock I went on board the barge, accompanied only by Savelieff and Kisseleff, and we rowed, under white-flags, to the well-known building, where the Japanese were in waiting to receive us. Our prisoners immediately appeared at the door. They all

wore yellow dresses, with seamen's trousers and waistcoats of various colours. The officers' dresses were made of a material resembling our figured silks, those of the sailors consisted of taffety. The Kurile Alexei wore a dress of dark-coloured silk, made in the Japanese form. To complete this whimsical costume, the officers wore their swords and uniform hats.

On any other occasion we should have been highly diverted by the singularity of their appearance, but now it did not even excite a smile. Friend gazed at friend with emotion and joy, and our thoughts were expressed more by looks than by words. Tears of gratitude to Providence glistened in the eyes of our liberated countrymen. The Japanese retired and left us for some time alone, in order that we might give vent to our feelings. My countrymen were then formally delivered over to me by the two Ginmiyaks, Takahassi-Sampey and Kood-Simoto-Chiogoro. The papers of the Japanese Government, which I was to lay before the authorities on my arrival in Russia, were presented to me with the ceremonies which have already been described by Captain Golownin. Refreshments were then handed to us in the usual manner.

Having once more expressed our sincere thanks, we rowed from the shore at two o'clock, accompanied by a countless number of boats, crowded with Japanese of both sexes. Notwithstanding a violent adverse wind, none of the numerous boats by which we were surrounded put back. The 'Diana' was decorated with flags, and all her yards were manned by the crew, who saluted us with three cheers. The enthusiasm of the seamen, on once more beholding their beloved commander and his companions in misfortune, after a separation of two years and three months, was boundless. Many melted into tears.

This scene, so highly honourable to the whole crew, can never be effaced from my recollection. Golownin and his companions, who were moved to their inmost souls, knelt down before the sacred image of the ship (the miracle-working Saint Nicolas), and returned thanks to heaven.

A number of boats now came alongside, bringing fresh water, wood, one thousand large radishes, fifty boxes filled with grits, thirty with salt, and, in short, provisions of every description, though none had been asked on our part. When we declared that we stood in no need of these things, the answer was that orders had been given for supplying the prisoners with provisions sufficient to last them until they reached Kamtschatka. To avoid anything like dispute, I accepted of all that was sent. A considerable time was spent in unloading the boats. Many of the Japanese, whom the Dooseenee now permitted to come on board the vessel, set to work so zealously, that it was difficult to say which was most to be admired—the pleasure with which our seamen worked, or the obliging manner in which the Japanese assisted them. They appeared as one people; and no spectator could have supposed that between their native homes half the circumference of the globe intervened! Civility, kindness, good humour, and activity animated all. They reciprocally treated each other with brandy and *sagi*; and in the midst of their labours they enjoyed a holiday.

Some Japanese officers, of the rank of *Shtoyagu*, came on board to visit us. Among them were the interpreters, the *Shtoyagu* Murakami-Teske, and the *Saidshu* Kumad-dschero. The former spoke Russian much better than the latter, and also possessed more general information. They were accompanied by the academician and an interpreter of the Dutch language, the latter of whom had

been in Nangasaky when Resanoff and Krusenstern visited that port in the *Nadeschda*. He recollected several of the Russian officers' names, and also spoke some Russian, and understood French. We entertained them in the European style, in the cabin, and they examined every part of the ship with the greatest attention. Towards evening a multitude of Japanese came on board, all men, for now, to our mortification, the women were not permitted to enter the ship. The deck was so crowded, that our seamen could not move a step without difficulty, and the *Doseenee* were, at last, obliged to employ their iron batons in driving their countrymen into the boats, whence the women looked anxiously up as if they wished to have a share in the bustle. To console them, we handed some trifles down to them, for which they returned thanks, by very expressive gestures.

On the 10th of October, when all was ready for our departure, the government sent us a quantity of vegetables, and fresh and salt fish. I had just given orders for weighing anchor, when *Tachatay-Kachi* appeared, with a number of boats, which he brought to tow us from the harbour into the bay. The old interpreter, and several of *Golownin's* acquaintances, also came out in a large boat, and accompanied us to the mouth of the bay. The ship's company bade farewell to our Japanese friends, by cheering them; and, as a mark of sincere gratitude to *Kachi*, they gave—The 'Taisho!' Hurrah! in three separate and additional cheers. *Kachi* and his sailors stood up in their boat, and returned the cheers, calling as loud as they were able—The 'Diana!' Hurrah.

We had to encounter a heavy storm, of six hours' duration, on the Japanese coast. Our situation was extremely dangerous; the night was dark, and the rain fell in a torrent. The water in the hold rose to forty inches,

notwithstanding that we kept the pumps constantly at work. At last the storm moderated, and, in the midst of a fall of snow, we happily entered the harbour of Petropaulowskoi on the 3rd of September.

On the 6th of November we held our last thanksgiving on board the ship, and proceeded to the barracks which we had occupied in the preceding winter, with the consoling reflection, that having now completed our labours, we should soon return to our friends and relatives, from whom we had been separated during seven years; that time having elapsed since we took our departure from St. Petersburg.

Thus ended our communication with a people who, through unfortunate circumstances and the misrepresentations of the Dutch, had been impressed with so unfavourable an opinion of the Russians. Providence, however, effected what human wisdom deemed impracticable. Two nations, hitherto almost unknown to each other, have made a vast step towards future intercourse; and there is even ground to hope that a further approximation, advantageous to both, may take place between them.

As I had reason to fear that our worn-out vessel might founder in the harbour of Petropaulowskoi, like the ship which had served in the expedition of Captain Billings, we run her right ashore on the beach. The 'Diana,' no longer able to contend with the waves of the ocean, now serves as a magazine and will be a memorial of former times. It seems probable that these shores, celebrated by the voyages of Cook and La Perouse, and the geographical situation of which is so advantageous for trade, will become better known to neighbouring Asiatic nations, and be visited by navigators from the most distant corners of the world.

On the day of our arrival at Petropaulowskoi all was

cheerfulness in our little circle, with one exception—the unfortunate Moor alone presented a different aspect. His conduct was the result of error, not of turpitude of heart or of any settled design of treason to his country. Being bereft of all hope of returning to Russia, and flattered with the idea of obtaining freedom among the Japanese, he was induced to depart from the path of honour. When circumstances unexpectedly changed, he became every day more depressed in spirits, and finally yielded to despair. A man of ordinary mind might easily have been brought to forget his own errors; but a heart, in which every honourable sentiment had been deeply rooted, was for ever poisoned by a single offence. When he first came on board the ship, after his liberation, I eagerly advanced to him; but he shrunk back, and, reaching his sword out to me, he exclaimed, in a faltering voice: “I am unworthy of your notice! I am only fit to be confined with criminals!”

I feared lest the seamen might observe what was passing, and suddenly collecting myself, took the sword, and said, “I receive it as a memorial of this happy day.” I then conducted him to the cabin, where Captain Golownin and Mr. Chlebnikoff were expressing their gratitude to the officers of the vessel. Golownin presented to me his sword; the same which, during his captivity, the Emperor of Japan had expressed a wish to see, and I now preserve it as the most valuable reward of my enterprise. To the officers he gave his telescopes, pistols, and astronomical instruments. He gave to the senior non-commissioned officer one hundred roubles; to the juniors seventy-five; to each seaman twenty-five; and to the sailors who had been his companions in captivity five hundred roubles each. But to Makaroff, who, as the

reader knows, was of particular use to him, he besides granted a pension, amounting to a seaman's annual pay, from his estate in the government of Casan. To the Kurile, Alexei, he gave a set of carpenters' tools, a rifle, powder, shot, tobacco, and two hundred fifty roubles in money. Even Moor took occasion to express his gratitude; but he constantly turned to me with the words, "I am unworthy!" Golownin frequently entreated him to forget what had passed, as he had himself blotted it all from his recollection; but Moor was overwhelmed with remorse. The exhortations of friendship produced no effect upon him; and he generally maintained a gloomy silence. The rest is known to the reader. Moor was a young man of extraordinary talent, and always distinguished himself in the performance of his duty. To all the qualifications of a seaman, in their fullest extent, he joined the possession of considerable scientific knowledge; was familiar with several foreign languages, and spoke two fluently. With such a character and such accomplishments it was impossible not to love him, and I am confident that all who knew him will participate in the sorrow of his old shipmates for the unhappy termination of his career.

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